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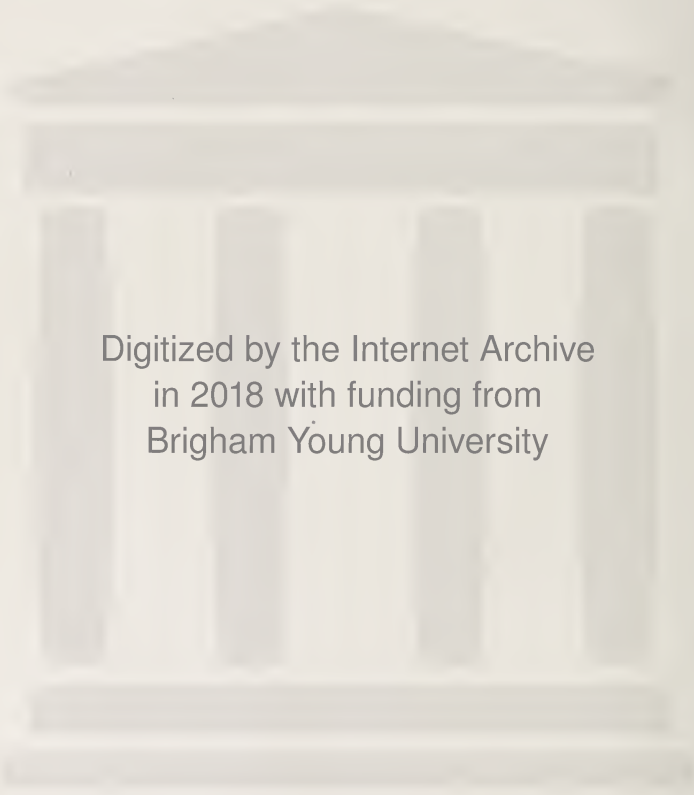
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THE ^{day}
SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL
QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXII
JULY, 1918, TO APRIL, 1919

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THE TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
AUSTIN, TEXAS
1919

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Organized 1897

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THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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STEPHEN F. AUSTIN*

EUGENE C. BARKER

Considering the difficulties of his task, the completeness of his responsibility for its accomplishment, and its far-reaching results, Stephen F. Austin has claims to being the greatest colonial proprietary in American history.

He was born in Wythe County, Virginia, November 3, 1793, moved to Missouri at the age of five, spent four years (1804-1808) at different Connecticut schools and two at Transylvania University, and then, at the age of seventeen, returned to Missouri, with schooling complete, to plunge into his father's complex business, a part of which he took over in 1817. In 1813 he was elected to the territorial legislature of Missouri, and by successive re-elections served until 1819; in 1815 Governor Clark gave him an adjutant's commission in the Missouri militia; in 1818 he became a director in the ill-fated Bank of St. Louis; two years later Governor Miller appointed him judge of the federal circuit of Arkansas; and at the beginning of 1821 he was editing a newspaper at New Orleans.¹ With training and experience of such breadth and ver-

*This paper was read before a joint meeting of the American Historical and Mississippi Valley Historical Associations at Philadelphia, December 28, 1917. It is here reprinted from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of June, 1918.

¹The statements of this paragraph are drawn from a sketch of Moses Austin, written by Stephen F. Austin, and one of Stephen F. Austin, written by his nephew, Colonel Guy M. Bryan, in Wooten (editor), *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I, 439-447 (Dallas, 1898). I have confirmed all of them from contemporary documents, except dates of service in the Missouri Legislature.

satility and with his intimate knowledge of frontier life, Austin at twenty-eight was well prepared to be the founder and patriarchal ruler of a wilderness commonwealth.

He embarked with his father somewhat dubiously upon the colonization of Texas,² and it was partly in obedience to his father's dying wish that he determined to continue the undertaking alone.³ But having begun, he spent himself in singular devotion to the healthy growth of Texas and the welfare of the colonists whom his influence brought to the country and for whose prosperity he felt a personal responsibility. In moments of despondency, when particularly harassed by public duties and anxieties, he longed for "a small farm, a moderate independence, and a wife,"⁴ but for the most part he had no time for thoughts of self. His conception of his task extended farther than the mere planting of a number of families in an uninhabited waste; it was to create there a high toned, intelligent, prosperous, and happy society. "Such an enterprise as the one I undertook in settling an uninhabited country," he wrote in 1832,

must necessarily pass through three regular gradations. The first step was to overcome the roughness of the wilderness, and may be compared to the labor of the farmer on a piece of ground covered with woods, bushes, and brambles, which must be cut down and cleared away, and the roots grubbed out before it can be cultivated. The second step was to pave the way for civilization and lay the foundation for lasting productive advancement in wealth, morality, and happiness. This step might be compared to the ploughing, harrowing, and sowing the ground after it is cleared. The third and last and most important step is to give proper and healthy direction to public opinion, morality, and education . . . to give tone, character, and consistency to society, which, to continue

²Moses Austin to Stephen F. Austin, May 22, 1821, Austin Papers, University of Texas: "I can now go forward with confidence and I hope and pray you will discharge your doubts as to the Enterprise." Austin to Wharton, April 24, 1829, Austin Papers: "I myself believed that the probabilities of failure or success were almost equal."

³Mary Austin (mother of Stephen) to Stephen F. Austin, June 8, 1821, Austin Papers: "he called me to his bedside and with much distress and difficulty of speech begged me to tell you to take his place and if god in his wisdom thought best to disappoint him in the accomplishment of his wishes and plans formed, he prayed him to extend his goodness to you and enable you to go on with the business in the same way he would have done."

⁴Austin to W. C. Carr, March 4, 1829, Austin Papers.

the simile, is gathering in the harvest and applying it to the promotion of human happiness. In trying to lead the colony through these gradations my task has been one of continued hard labor. I have been clearing away brambles, laying foundations, sowing the seed. The genial influences of cultivated society will be like the sun shedding light, fragrance, and beauty.⁵

Ten years of retrospect no doubt helped him to formulate this statement of his purpose, but it is perfectly clear that his aim was in mind from the beginning. To another correspondent he wrote:

"My ambition has been to succeed in redeeming Texas from its wilderness state by means of the plough alone, in spreading over it North American population, enterprise and intelligence, in doing this I hoped to make the fortunes of thousands and my own amongst the rest. . . . I think I derived more satisfaction from the view of flourishing farms springing up in this wilderness than military or political chieftains do from the retrospect of their victorious campaigns. My object is to build up, for the present as well as for future generations. . . . I deemed the object laudable and honorable and worthy the attention of honorable men."⁶

In some ways the time was ripe for his undertaking in 1821. The westward movement had crossed the Mississippi and reached the borders of Texas, and the panic of 1819 and the reorganization of the land system of the United States in 1820 co-operated to stimulate emigration to lands that combined the attractions of princely abundance, accessibility, fertility, and cheapness that amounted in effect to a free gift. Austin's greatness, therefore, consists not in having overcome difficulties of transportation and communication to induce reluctant colonists to reclaim a distant and inhospitable land, but in the tact with which, on the one hand, he governed his independent western frontiersmen, curbing their intolerance of the "foreigner" and their disgust at his political ineptitude, while, on the other, he won and held the confidence of Mexican statesmen, soothing their fear of the disloyalty of the colonists and the ultimate absorption of Texas by the United States. Austin stated his problem in a very few words in a letter of 1829:

⁵Austin to his cousin, Mrs. Mary Austin Holley, January 14, 1832 (copy), Austin Papers, in file of July, 1831.

⁶Austin to Wharton, April 24, 1829, Austin Papers.

I had an ignorant, whimsical, selfish and suspicious set of rulers over me to keep good natured, a perplexed, confused colonization law to execute, and an unruly set of North American frontier republicans to controul who felt that they were sovereigns, for they knew that they were beyond the arm of the Govt. or of law, unless it pleased them to be controuled.⁷

Fortunately, though it seemed to him ruinously unfortunate at the time, the revolution and the political upheaval incident to the establishment of Mexican independence carried Austin to Mexico in the spring of 1822, after many of his colonists had already arrived, and kept him there for a year securing confirmation of his grant, which had been made by the Spanish régime. There during the brief space of eleven months he saw the executive government go through the stages of a regency, an empire, and a military triumvirate. Iturbide elevating himself to the imperial throne by Napoleonic methods and being himself overthrown by Santa Anna posing as a liberal—while the legislature traveled through a provisional *junta gubernativa*, a sovereign elected congress, a rump (the *junta nacional instituyente*), and back again, after the fall of Iturbide, to the congress. With little money, and reduced at last to the extremity of selling his watch, Austin possessed his soul in such patience as he could and gently nagged a national colonization law through Iturbide's rump parliament, only to have it annulled by the return of the legitimate congress and its sweeping decree repealing all acts of the empire. He had won his case, however, and congress instructed the executive to confirm his contract in the terms of the imperial law. Incidentally he had learned the language, gained the confidence and esteem of such men as Anastacio Bustamante, Lorenzo de Zavala, Ramos Arispe, and Lucas Alaman, and obtained an insight into Mexican personal and official character that was the key to his future success. For a foreigner he had exercised a remarkable influence upon the shifting committees of the various legislative bodies. He was largely responsible for the passage of the colonization law,⁸ tried his hand at drafting an imperial constitution

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Austin's explanation to the colonists concerning charges for land, June 5, 1824, Austin Papers, miscellaneous: "I can without boasting say that my constant Exertions and importunity with the Members both directly

which combined some of the features of the Constitution of the United States with the Spanish constitution of 1812,⁹ and, on his departure, left with Ramos Arispe a document¹⁰ which probably in considerable degree shaped the *acta constitutiva*, the provisional constitution which bridged the transition from empire to federal republic.

Austin returned to Texas with extraordinary powers. The governor had already invested him with general authority to govern the colony until the regular state administration could be extended to it,¹¹ and now, by decree of the national government, this power was more specifically defined and enlarged. He was supreme judge, save that in capital cases he must submit his decision to the commandant general of the Eastern Interior Provinces before execution; he could issue regulations for the government of the settlements when the national laws did not apply; he was commander of the militia, which it was his duty to keep in efficient state of organization, with the title of lieutenant colonel, and with authority to wage offensive and defensive war on the Indians;¹² he had sole

and indirectly through my friends produced this law." See also Austin to Governor Trespacios, January 8, 1823, Austin Papers.

⁹Draft in English with partial translation into Spanish, March 29-30, 1823, Austin Papers, miscellaneous. There are also in this collection "Plan for organization of Congress for the Empire of Mexico," August, 1822, and "Reflections Addressed to the Junta Instituyente," January 16, 1823.

¹⁰"Plan de las bases organicas y fundamentales para el establecimiento de una Republica federada en el Anahuac." This is endorsed by Austin: "Copy of a Plan by S. F. Austin in May 1823 in Monterrey translated by Mercado, and delivered to Ramos Arispe and the Comdt, General Felipe de la Garza—both of whom were at that time in Monterrey." The document shows interlineations and suggestions in Arispe's hand, and he added, "I think it very important that this plan be immediately printed." Austin himself believed that the plan "had much influence in giving unity of intention and direction to the Federal party." As he says, "Arispe was the chairman of the committee who drew up the Acta Constitutiva, and a comparison of that act with this plan will show a very striking similarity" (*A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I, 490). The document is in Austin Papers, miscellaneous. In an article in *THE SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*, XX, 19-27, Marion John Atwood emphasizes the Spanish sources of the *Acta Constitutiva*. I have not as yet had the opportunity to study the influence of Austin's draft.

¹¹For these powers: Martinez to Austin, August 24, 1821, in *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I, 472.

¹²Documents in *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I, 473-475; Austin to Garza, May 27, 1823, and Garza to Austin, June 16, 1823, Spanish Records, Vol. 54, p. 84, and Translations of Records, Vol. 1, p. 14, General Land Office, Austin, Texas.

power to admit immigrants to or exclude them from his colony, which covered an area larger than Massachusetts; and, acting with a commissioner appointed by the governor, he could give title to married men for 4,600 acres of land, subject to improvement in two years, and could greatly augment that amount to men with large families, or who established gins, sawmills, or other public conveniences.¹³

Most of this power Austin retained for seven years. The legislature, it is true, was organized in 1824, when Texas was united with Coahuila to the south, but, aside from passing the state colonization law, its attention until 1827 was centered on the formation of the constitution, so that there was very little legislation for Texas. A local *ayuntamiento* or municipal government was established in 1828, but for several years this took little of the burden of administration from Austin, because, though he steadily refused to accept office in the *ayuntamiento*, the members of that body looked to him for guidance and both state and federal authorities showed a disposition to hold him responsible for the smooth working of the local government, while of the land system he retained direction throughout the colonial period. From inclination as well as from necessity, he followed democratic methods of administration, dividing the colony into districts and allowing the inhabitants to elect *alcaldes*, or justices of the peace, and militia officers, himself hearing appeals from the former and directing the latter. But in the matter of legislation he acted alone, promulgating, with the approval of the political chief at San Antonio, a brief civil and criminal code which was in operation for five years. In his management of the lands of the colony he followed from the beginning the practice of issuing titles only on official surveys and of recording in permanent form all papers connected with the title, including the surveyor's plat of the land. The government made no allowance for the expenses of administration, and in the early days taxation was impossible, so that, except for fees of *alcaldes* and constables, the cost of government fell heavily upon Austin. This was particularly true of his management of the land business, while he was at constant expense also in entertaining travelers and

¹³Austin's power to grant lands in his colony is defined in the imperial colonization law of January 3, 1823, for which see Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 27-30 (Austin, 1898).

prospectors, sending expresses, giving presents to Indians, and often furnishing munitions and supplies for Indian campaigns.¹⁴

Anticipating some of these expenses, and wishing also, naturally, compensation for his industry and enterprise, Austin had, before planting a single colonist, arranged, with the knowledge of Governor Martinez, to collect 12½ cents an acre for the land in his grant, assuming himself the cost of surveying land and of issuing and recording titles. He advertised this in plain and unambiguous terms, and the original settlers accepted it gladly, because elsewhere in Texas they had no right to settle or acquire land at all. The imperial colonization law of 1823, in accordance with whose terms, after its repeal, Austin's grant was confirmed, greatly enlarged the headrights which he had planned to allow settlers and provided that he himself should receive as compensation for his labors some 65,000 acres for each two hundred families that he introduced. Whether this was intended to annul the 12½ cent agreement is open to question. Austin thought not, and so explained on his return from Mexico in the summer of 1823. Where each settler could have 4,600 acres for the asking, the empresario's 65,000 acres were not likely to yield much ready money for current expenses. Nevertheless, some of the colonists now objected to the payment and carried their complaint to the political chief, who had replaced the governor at San Antonio, and he ruled against Austin's right to charge for the lands. Instead, he fixed a scale of fees for the surveyor, the land commissioner, and the state, which Austin thought had no warrant in law. He contented himself, however, with making a straightforward defense of his reasons for charging the fee, pointing out the risks, hardships, sacrifices, and expenses he had suffered, and asking plainly if he had not given in labor and responsibility the equivalent of the 12½ cents an acre which the colonists had agreed to pay him, or whether they could or would have obtained anything, except through his exertions. Many considered themselves in equity bound by their contracts, one declaring that no candid man in the colony denied the obligation, but Austin relinquished them all and made an arrangement with Bastrop for a division of the fee which the political chief had

¹⁴For this paragraph see an article by the writer, "The Government of Austin's Colony," in *THE QUARTERLY*, XXI, 223-252 (January, 1918).

prescribed for the latter as commissioner. It yielded much less than his contracts with the colonists would have done, but it avoided friction between them and the political chief. The colonization law which the legislature passed in 1825 recognized the justice of Austin's position and authorized empresarios to collect a fee from their settlers in addition to the generous premium of land allowed by the state.¹⁵

A few of the colonists were already grumbling because they saw Austin granting three, four, and five leagues to some while he allowed them only a paltry 4,600 acres. They were ignorant of Spanish and knew nothing of his powers except what he or his secretary and the commissioner Bastrop told them. Might he not be imposing upon them and exploiting them for his own advantage? Had he any authority either to grant land or govern the colony? The political chief's interference in the matter of the fees helped to strengthen their suspicion, and uneasy whispers increased to a respectable rumble of discontent. The political chief assured them that Austin's authority was ample in every respect, but the excitement subsided slowly and did not disappear until Austin convinced the leaders of his power by arresting them and threatening to send them to San Antonio for trial. The threat and a heart to heart talk were sufficient, and they soon became his staunch supporters.¹⁶ Austin ascribed much of his trouble to the colonists' ignorance of the language, their exercise of the sacred American right to abuse a public official, and the absence of definite laws.

You know [he wrote in 1825] that it is innate in an American to suspect and abuse a public officer whether he deserves it or not. I have a mixed multitude to deal with, collected from all quarters, strangers to each other, to me, and to the laws and language of the country. They came here with all the ideas of Americans and expect to see and understand the laws they are governed by, . . . Could I have shown them a law defining positively the quantity of land they were to get and no more and a code of laws by which they were to be governed I should have had no difficulty—but they saw at once that my powers were discretionary, and that a very great augmentation to their grants could be made, and thus the

¹⁵For this paragraph, *Ibid.*; also a very excellent discussion of the same subject by Lester G. Bugbee in "Some Difficulties of a Texas Empresario," *Publications of the Southern History Association*, April, 1899, pp. 97-101.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, and Bugbee, as cited, 101-109.

colonization law itself and the authority vested in me under that law holds me up as a public mark to be shot at.¹⁷ . . .

With the readiness of the colonists to 'growl' and 'grumble' and 'mutter,' "without knowing why, or without being able to explain why," he was not, however, disposed to quarrel.

It arose [he said] from a principle which is common to all North Americans, a feeling which is the natural offspring of the unbounded republican liberty enjoyed by all classes in the United States; . . . jealousy of those in office, jealousy of undue encroachments on personal rights, and a general repugnance to everything that wore the semblance of a stretch of power.¹⁸

Another duty that brought Austin some enemies and much annoyance was that of keeping criminals and men of bad character out of the colony. He required certificates of character from all who obtained land, and though, in the nature of things, these certificates could be hardly more than formal statements of "parties unknown," he made remarkably few mistakes.¹⁹ He banished several from the colony in 1823 and 1824 under threat of severe corporal punishment, and in one case applied the lash. Some of the exiles took refuge in the neighboring colony of the Mexican empresario De León and avenged themselves by making false reports about Austin to the government, and others settled in the

¹⁷Austin to Edwards, September 15, 1825, Austin Papers.

¹⁸Austin to White, March 31, 1829, Austin Papers. This letter was published in the *Texas History Teachers' Bulletin* (University of Texas), February, 1917, pp. 41-45.

¹⁹"No person will be admitted as a settler who does not produce satisfactory evidence of having supported the character of a moral, sober, and industrious citizen."—From a printed permit (1821) to settle in Austin's first colony. Austin endeavored to have immigrants present testimonials from the justice of the peace or some other local official of their former residence in the United States, but this was not always possible, and it is evident that many were received on the recommendation of settlers already in the colony, on very short acquaintance, one may suspect. There is abundant evidence, however, that Austin tried to give this requirement a real meaning. See, for example, entries in "Register of Families in Austin's Colony," General Land Office, Austin, Texas: "John H. Jones, single man, wants a place below tract where John Williams lives . . . and as he is an entire stranger I have required him to produce me satisfactory evidence of his moral conduct" (p. 16); "Henry Martin, Mary his wife, 1 male child, 3 female children . . . has presented no recommendations—his reception as a colonist is to be subject to future evacuation—no certificate is issued to him, and it is entirely optionary with the empresario to receive him or not" (p. 18, June 17, 1831).

no man's land on the borders of Louisiana and Arkansas and deterred honest emigrants from proceeding to Texas by tales of violence and anarchy. To an enquirer alarmed by such stories in 1829 Austin wrote, "in proportion to our numbers, we are as enlightened, as moral, as good, and as 'law abiding' men, as can be found in any part of the United States, and greatly more so than ever settled a frontier"—an opinion whose substantial accuracy the historian must confirm.²⁰ For, besides the supervision of immigrants which good policy as well as law required, the great majority, especially of the earlier colonists, were men of family, seeking homes, not speculators or adventurers. The state colonization law of 1825 put a premium on marriage by allowing married men four times as much land as unmarried men, while Austin had previously required ten single men to unite into a "family" to obtain a league, the headright of a married man.

It would be impossible to exaggerate Austin's labors in the early years of the colony. A letter to the political chief in 1826 gives a clue to their character and variety. He had left San Felipe on April 4 to point out some land recently conceded to one of the state officials and had been detained by excessive rains and swollen streams until the 29th. On May 1 he had begun the trial of an important case that had lasted seven days; at the same time he had had to entertain a delegation of the Tonkaway Indians, and make preparations for a campaign against another tribe; to talk to and answer questions of many "foreigners" who had come to look at the country, explaining and translating the federal constitution and some of the laws for them; to receive and pass upon applications for land, hear reports and issue instructions to surveyors; and to correspond with superior civil and military officers. This, the 8th, his first free day since returning, was mail day, and he had received two communications and dispatched five.²¹ Too much of his time, he once complained, was consumed in settling "neighborhood disputes about cows and calves,"²² but it was the patience with which he devoted himself to the minutiae of the

²⁰See Bugbee, as cited, 109-113, and Austin to White, as in note 18. There are a great many manuscripts in the Austin Papers bearing out this paragraph.

²¹Austin to Political Chief, May 8, 1826, General Land Office, Vol. 54, p. 26.

²²Austin to Bell, April 16, 1830, Austin Papers.

colony as well as his intelligence and ability in more important things that accounts for his success. During these years he gathered by painstaking surveys and personal observations data for a map of Texas, published by Tanner in 1829; charted Galveston Bay and the several harbors and navigable rivers of the state; promoted trade with the United States and kept a stream of immigrants flowing into the colony; encouraged the erection of gins and sawmills and the establishment of schools; and exercised throughout a most remarkable influence over the legislature at Saltillo in matters affecting the interest of the colony. To mention but a few instances of this, he was responsible in considerable degree for the liberal terms of the colonization law, his arguments prevented the constitutional abolition of slavery in 1827 and secured the labor law of the next year permitting the continued introduction of slaves in the form of indented servants, and in 1829 his desire to protect the colonists against suit for debts contracted before coming to the country found expression in what we should now consider a sweeping homestead law. He himself was a member of the legislature in 1831-1832, and was re-elected in 1834 but was prevented from serving by his detention in Mexico.²³

Burdened as he was with the affairs of his own colony, he found time to answer the calls of others. He repeatedly exerted himself to obtain titles for families who had drifted in and settled on the eastern border of the province before the passage of the colonization law; and he was always ready to give other empresarios the benefit of his knowledge and experience. DeWitt was deeply indebted to him for such success as he enjoyed, Burnet drew heavily upon him, and Edwards received advice that ought to have saved him from the folly of the Fredonian rebellion. He perceived very clearly the mutual interest of all in the peaceful and rapid development of Texas, and, with the field so vast and the laborers so few, he welcomed every additional effort in the promotion of that end. Some of his fellow-empresarios, however, without his vision and interest in the permanent growth of the country, doubted his sincerity and blamed him for embarrassments and failures due to their own impatience, greed, and unwillingness to adapt themselves

²³Each statement in this paragraph is based on abundance of manuscript sources in the Austin Papers.

to Mexican racial characteristics and sensibilities. What was needed in Texas he said was

*men, . . . not open mouthed politicians, nor selfish visionary speculators, nor jealous ambitious declamatory demagogues who will irritate the public mind by inflammatory criticisms about temporary evils and by indulging in vague surmises. We need men of enlightened judgement, disinterested prudence, and reflection, with a great stock of patience, unshaken perseverance and integrity of purpose. Men who will calmly put their shoulders to the wheel and toil for the good of others as well as for their own, and who will be contented to rise with the country without [trying] to force it forward prematurely to overtop the genl. level of prosperity by undue individual advancement. A band of such men firmly linked together by the bonds of mutual confidence and unity of purpose and action could and would make Texas the garden of North America.*²⁴

He did not, of course, as we have seen, escape misconstruction by his own colonists, but this he philosophically recognized as inevitable, and even necessary, in a way to the success of the colony.

To have been universally popular amongst the settlers for the first two or three years [he said] would have endangered all, for it would have excited vague jealousies in the [fear?] alone that I was conciliating popular favor in order to wield it in a particular way. To have been universally unpopular endangered all in another way, for it would have totally destroyed that degree of popular confidence and character abroad which was necessary to draw emigration and it would also have deprived me of the power of controuling the settlers sufficiently to have prevented them from destroying themselves. . . . The reflecting and worthy part of the settlers have always adhered to me firmly throughout. [The other class] abused me over their grog and at times have had weight enough to require humoring and management to keep within bounds, but they effectually removed all suspicion that I was courting the favor of a rabble for the purpose of wielding it, and in this way they did me and the colony a service, though without knowing or intending it, and I used their abuse of me to advance the public good and establish myself more firmly in the confidence of my rulers.²⁵

He was conservative in declaring that the "reflecting and worthy part of the settlers" adhered to him, and they were always a vast

²⁴Austin to Wharton, April 24, 1829, Austin Papers.

²⁵*Ibid.*

majority. They brought him their personal troubles and perplexities, and surrendered completely to his guidance in every crisis through which the colony passed. This was true in 1826, when he led them against Edwards's rebellious "frontier republicans" at Nacogdoches; in 1829, when he obtained the exemption of Texas from President Guerrero's emancipation decree; in 1830, when he reconciled them to the federal decree limiting immigration from the United States, while taking steps to secure its suspension; in 1832, when, after the expulsion of Bustamante's garrisons from Texas during his absence, he convinced Colonel Mexia of their loyalty to the liberal party of Santa Anna; in 1833, when they petitioned for the separation of Texas and Coahuila and sent him to Mexico to urge its approval; and, finally, in 1835, when they resisted Santa Anna's encroachments on republican government, for without his advice and organizing influence very few would have been ready then to take up arms. The revolution once begun, he was called to the command of the army, much as Washington went to Cambridge, to quiet the claims of rival aspirants, and when order was established and the campaign under way they sent him to the United States to find money and munitions to maintain it.

His control of the settlers in every essential movement as they increased from a few hundred in 1821 to many thousand in 1835 proves him a great leader. The confidence of Mexican officials, despite their innate fear of Anglo-American expansion, which was constantly stimulated by the efforts of the United States to acquire Texas, proves him a diplomat of no mean ability. With both, his success was due to his absolute honesty and fearless candor.

His one purpose was the advancement of Texas. "I feel," he said only a few months before his death, "a more lively interest for its welfare than can be expressed—one that is greatly superior to all pecuniary or personal views of any kind. The prosperity of Texas has been the object of my labors, the idol of my existence—it has assumed the character of a *religion* for the guidance of my thoughts and actions for fifteen years."²⁶ He sincerely believed until the beginning of 1836 that the best interest of Texas lay in its loyalty to Mexico, that the colonists and the government had, therefore, a common interest in its development, and he was the

²⁶Austin to General E. P. Gaines, July 27, 1836, Austin Papers.

efficient apostle of that faith. He felt some fear of the outcome of republican government in Mexico, he knew that the people were not fitted for it, but hoped they might stumble along until education and experience prepared them for it.²⁷ At the same time, as a prudent man would in his position, he sometimes contemplated a condition of anarchy or oppression that would render continued loyalty impossible. In such a contingency, though he shrank from it, he favored independence; never, until shortly before his death, annexation to the United States. As an "independent speck in the galaxy of nations," he wrote in 1829,

Europe will gladly receive our cotton and sugar, etc., on advantageous terms in exchange for "untariffed" manufactured articles. We should be too contemptible to excite the jealousy of the Northern Mammoth, and policy and interest would induce Europe to let us alone. I deem it more than probable that the great powers would all unite in guaranteeing the Independence of little Texas. There are many powerful reasons why it should be to their interest to do it.²⁸

On his attitude toward annexation there is an abundance of material from 1830 to 1835, and there can be no doubt of his sincerity.²⁹ This conclusion does not rest alone on an interpretation of Austin's own statements, for in 1834 Anthony Butler attributed to him his failure to buy Texas.³⁰ Two reasons for opposing annexation Austin gives, the land system of the United States and slavery.

If that Govt. should get hold of us and introduce its *land* system, thousands who are now on the move and who have not yet secured their titles would be totally ruined. The greatest misfortune that could befall Texas at this moment would be a sudden change by which any of the emigrants would be thrown upon the liberality of the Congress of the United States of the North.³¹

This he wrote to his brother-in-law in 1830. A few months later he wrote that he should "oppose a union with the United States

²⁷Austin to Carr, March 4, 1829, Austin Papers.

²⁸Austin to Wharton, April 24, 1829, Austin Papers.

²⁹On Austin's attitude toward independence see an article by the writer in *THE QUARTERLY*, XIII, 257-284.

³⁰Butler to McLane, July 13, 1834, Mss. State Department, Despatches from Agents to Mexico, Vol. 6.

³¹Austin to Perry, March 28, 1830, Austin Papers.

without some *guarantees*, amongst them I should insist on the perpetual exclusion of slavery from this country."³² No doubt the tariff figured in his consideration, and it is evident, too, that he believed that a strong population in Texas would ultimately wield such an influence with the government as to be freer under Mexico than under the United States.³³

Austin's views on slavery, despite the quotation just read, and a number of other expressions equally unequivocal, require explanation. He successfully opposed constitutional emancipation in 1827, urged in vain at the same time that immigrants be permitted to continue bringing slaves from the United States, obtained the withdrawal of Guerrero's emancipation decree in 1829, and declared in 1835 that Texas must be a slave state. The contradiction is more apparent than real, but when all is said some inconsistency remains. The truth seems to be that he did deplore slavery, but that he recognized its economic necessity in the development of Texas. Most of his colonists were naturally to be expected from the neighboring slave states, but slave owners would not come if forbidden to bring their slaves, and others who did come would be greatly hampered by the lack of free labor. About the time of this letter he seems to have felt that a satisfactory compromise might be reached by the labor law of 1828, which, in effect, established the peonage system of Mexico. He wrote in 1831,

Negroes can be brought here under indentures, as servants, but *not as slaves*. This question of slavery is a difficult one to get on with. It will ultimately be admitted, or the free negroes will be formed by law into a separate and distinct class—the *laboring class*. Color forms a line of demarkation between them and the whites. The law must assign their station, fix their rights and their disabilities and obligations—something between slavery and freedom, but neither the one nor the other. Either this or slavery in full must take place. Which is best? Quien sabe? It is a difficult and dark question.³⁴

In 1832 the labor law was modified, limiting contracts thereafter to ten years, hence, perhaps, his declaration for slavery in 1835.

³²Austin to Henry Austin, June 1, 1830, Austin Papers.

³³See, for example, Austin to Wharton, April 24, 1829, Austin Papers.

³⁴Austin to Mrs. Holley (copy), July 19, 1831, Austin Papers.

His defense of existing slavery in 1826-1827, it should be added, was based on what he considered guaranteed vested right, his original contract with the Spanish government, under which his first families were introduced, having recognized slavery by augmenting a settler's headright in proportion to the number of slaves he owned.³⁵

I have tried to present in this short paper something of the personality of Austin as he revealed himself in his work. He was a grave, gentle, kindly man, charitable, tolerant, affectionate and loyal, naturally impulsive but restrained by habit, sensitive, lonely, and given too much, perhaps, to introspection. He enjoyed social companionship, but his position set him apart from the colonists and made close friendships with them difficult and rare. He smoked, danced now and then, loved music (he played the flute in his younger days), and his bills show occasional charges for whiskey, brandy, and wine. He was well educated, widely read for his opportunities, and a clear thinker. His letters in their straightforward precision and naturalness remind one of Franklin. He worked incessantly, unselfishly, and generally most patiently. In short, he appears to me a lovable human character, with many charming qualities.

On returning from his mission to the United States in the summer of 1836 he was persuaded to be a candidate for the presidency. He consented with indifference³⁶ and took his defeat by Houston with equanimity. He had been absent from the country for the better part of three years on public business, part of the time in a Mexican prison; his personal affairs were greatly neglected, and he welcomed the prospect of leisure to put them in order. However, when his victorious rival asked him to be secretary of state, he consented, in the belief that he could be useful in bringing the infant republic to the favorable notice of older governments. As usual, he immersed himself in public duties to the utter neglect of self, and died from overwork and exposure on December 27, 1836. For fifteen years he had held the destiny of Texas in the hollow

³⁵There is much material on the subject of this sentence, but see, for example, Austin to ayuntamiento of Bexar, August 14, 1826, General Land Office, Vol. 57, p. 96.

³⁶Austin to Gail Borden, Jr. (August, 1836), Austin Papers, miscellaneous.

of his hand, and characteristically his last conscious thought was of its welfare. He waked from a dream thinking that the United States had recognized its independence, and died in that belief.³⁷ His death thus, at the age of only forty-three, on the eve of the fruition of all his labors, with the country redeemed from the wilderness and others assuming the burden of responsibility that had deprived him of home, wife, and family, was one of fate's grim ironies—a distressing personal tragedy.

³⁷Hammeken, "Recollections of Stephen F. Austin," *THE QUARTERLY*, XX, 380.

ACAPULCO AND THE MANILA GALLEON

WILLIAM LYTLE SCHURZ

When Andrés de Urdaneta selected Acapulco as the American terminal of the Philippine-American navigation,¹ he chose the best harbor on the west coast of America, with the exception of San Francisco. Legaspi's expedition for the occupation of the Philippines sailed from Navidad, but Acapulco soon took the place of the more northerly port. In 1572 Viceroy Enríquez wrote to Philip II: "Acapulco is coming to be the first port for the trade with the Philippines, because of its nearness to the City of Mexico."² He further declared it superior to either Navidad, Guatulco, or Tehuantepec. Frequent proposals were made during the history of the galleon trade to change the terminal from Acapulco, for which there were claimed greater accessibility to Mexico, a superior climate, or other advantages. The most serious schemes of this sort were for the transfer to San Blas or to Val de Banderas on the Guadalajara coast.³ As the northwest provinces of the viceroyalty became more thickly settled in the eighteenth century, the movement to have the galleons put in at a northern harbor gained strength. Particularly was this so after the establishment of the *Departamento* of San Blas, when the latter port had become increasingly important, because of its position as the start-

¹Fernández Duro, *Armada*, II, 233. "Parece que converná [conviene] que el astillero que está en el dicho Puerto [Navidad] donde se hacen los Navios para el descubrimiento y navegacion de la mar del Poniente se mude á otro Puerto mas comodo y sano. . . . El Puerto de Acapulco parece que tiene buenas partes, para que en el se arme el astillero para hacer Navios, é para que en el sea la carga y descargo dellos, por ser uno de los buenos Puertos que hay en lo descubierto de las Indias, grande, y seguro, y muy sano y de buenas aguas, y mucha pesqueria, de mucha madera para la ligazon de los Navios, y tener á cinco, ó seis leguas, y pocas mas mucha madera para tablazon, y pinos para masteles y entenas." Urdaneta, *Derrotero muy especial . . . de la navegacion . . . desde el puerto de Acapulco á las islas de Poniente, . . . con la descripcion circunstanciada, así del puerto de Acapulco como del de Navidad, y las propiedades y ventajas de cada uno de ellos*, 1561, *Documentos inéditos* . . . Ultramar, II, 119-20.

²Enríquez to the King, April 6, 1572, *A. de I.*, 58-3-8.

³The Queen-Regent to the Viceroy, September 18, 1674, *A. de I.*, 103-3-2; the King to the Viceroy and the *Audiencia*, April 16, 1688, *A. de I.*, 105-2-3.

ing-point for the new activities along the coast of California and farther to the northward. In his instructions to his successor, Viceroy Revillagigedo contended for the retention of the terminal at Acapulco,⁴ but Branciforte favored San Blas, while he proposed that the fair be held at Tepic.⁵ However, by that time the Philippine commerce was notoriously on the decline, and Acapulco was permitted to hold the position which she had occupied for over two centuries by right of official inertia and her incomparable haven.

The harbor is nearly surrounded by precipitous mountains, whose abrupt descent on their southern side leaves but a small shelf of land for habitation, and also accounts for its unusual depth, which is so great that the galleon was sometimes made fast to a tree on the shore, instead of anchoring out in the bay.⁶ The entrance, which opens toward the southwest, is broken by the Isla de la Roqueta into two mouths of unequal width. The easterly pass, known as the *Boca Grande*, has a breadth of about a mile and a half, while the other, or *Boca Chica*, is only about 260 yards wide. Though the breadth of the former admits seas and winds that would interfere with the security of vessels lying opposite this mouth, ships find entire safety when moored in front of the town in the sheltered inner bay, which projects to the northwest from the main body of the harbor. Thus, the port has the advantage of being both safe and deep.

Domingo Fernández de Navarete, a much-travelled friar, called it "the best and safest harbor in the world, as was duly asserted by those who have seen many others."⁷ Lord Anson considered it "the securest and finest in all the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean."⁸ Malaspina, one of the most skilled of Spanish naviga-

⁴*Instrucción que dejó el Virrey de Nueva España, Conde de Revillagigedo, del estado de aquel Reyno á su sucesor, el Marqués de Branciforte, June 30, 1794, A. de I., 88-5-19.*

⁵Branciforte to Godoy, September 26, 1796, *A. de I., Estado: Mexico, legajo 6.*

⁶"When the galeon arrives in this port, she is generally moored on its western side to two trees." Anson, *Voyage*, 227.

⁷*Tratados históricos, políticos, éthicos, y religiosos de la monarchia de China* (1676), B. and R., XXXVII, 285.

⁸*Op. cit.* Of the size of the harbor, Dampier remarks: "The Port of Acapulco is very commodious for the reception of Ships, and so large, that some hundreds may safely Ride there without damnifying each other." *Voyages*, I, 262.

tors of the latter eighteenth century, a scientific seaman of the type of Cook and Laperouse, favored the further development of Acapulco as the Spanish naval base for the Northern Pacific and as a great commercial port.⁹ For these purposes he held it much superior to San Blas. "No one can deny," he said, "that Acapulco has great advantages which are found together in very few ports of the globe."¹⁰

Humboldt, who saw the place in 1803, thus describes the harbor, which he called "the finest of all those on the coast of the great ocean,"¹¹ and again, "one of the finest ports in the known world";¹² "The port of Acapulco forms an immense basin cut in granite rocks. . . . I have seen few situations in either hemisphere of a more savage aspect, I would say at the same time more dismal and more romantic. The masses of rocks bear in their form a strong resemblance to the dentilated crest of Montserrat in Catalonia. . . . This rocky coast is so steep that a vessel of the line may almost touch it without running the smallest danger, because there is every where from 10 to 12 fathoms water."¹³

Gabriel Lafond de Lurcy said of the port and its surroundings: "This bay forms the finest and safest port along the entire Mexican coast. It is immense, and extends over three leagues inland, with a width of about one league. The anchorage is everywhere excellent, and a ship is everywhere sheltered from all the winds, for it is surrounded in all directions by mountains, which close it almost hermetically, and even shut out the view of the sea. The whole aspect is sombre and wild, and inspires a profound melancholy. The shore that rims the bay offers the very image of chaos."¹⁴ Another French navigator of the same period, Abel du Petit-Thouars, writes of the location of Acapulco: "Some lofty mountains serve it as ramparts to west and north. To

⁹Malaspina and Bustamante, *Viaje político-científico alrededor del mundo*, (Madrid, 1885), 451. The voyage covered the years 1789-94.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹¹*Political Essay*, I, Int., XXXIV.

¹²*Ibid.*, IV, 55.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 56. "The Bay of Acapulco contains in its vast extent but one shallow, which is not 40 metres in depth, and which has the name of St. Anne, because it was found out in 1781, by the unexpected loss of the ship *Santa Ana* belonging to the trade of Lima." *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁴*Voyages autour du monde*, (Paris, 1843), 88.

the south it is protected from the sea by a wooded peninsula of moderate height, which shelters the anchorage. Towards the east the view extends over the harbor and the peninsula which separates it from Puerto Marqués and the open sea."¹⁵

Acapulco itself was of no importance except as the terminal of the Asiatic galleon line and of a southerly coastwise trade of lesser consequence. "As for the City of *Acapulco*," says Gemelli Careri, "I think it might more properly be call'd a poor Village of Fishermen, than the chief Mart of the South Sea, and Port for the Voyage to *China*; so mean and wretched are the Houses being made of nothing but Wood, Mud and Straw."¹⁶ By 1598 there were 250 houses of various kinds in the town,¹⁷ the majority of which could scarcely have been more than huts or cabins. Among the public or religious buildings were the *Contaduría*, or headquarters of the treasury officials, a "cathedral," or parish church, a Franciscan convent, and the Hospital of San Juan de Dios. However, none of these were imposing edifices, though the religious establishments were bountifully supported by the piety of those who had survived the galleon voyage or the inclemencies and risks of the journey from Mexico. To the northeast of the town was situated the Castle of San Diego, which protected the town and the anchorage ground of the galleons from the incursions of foreigners. During most of its history there were mounted on its bastions some forty or more brass cannon of large bore.¹⁸ But, whatever its actual strength, it had almost as forbidding a reputation among the enemies of Spain as did the formidable works of Cartagena and San Juan Ulua, and it at least fulfilled its function more effectually than did either of those great fortresses.

The ordinary population of Acapulco consisted of Indians and Orientals, and of *mestizos* and mulattoes of every possible degree of miscegenation. This nondescript lot were generically classed

¹⁵*Voyage autour du monde sur la frégate la Venus, pendant les années 1836-1839*, (Paris, 1841), II, 201.

¹⁶Churchill, *Voyages*, IV, 502.

¹⁷*Oficiales reales* to the King, April 12, 1598, *A. de I.*, 60-4-30.

¹⁸Gemelli, in Churchill, *op. cit.*, pp. 503-4. In the latter eighteenth century the castle contained over 80 guns.

outside of Acapulco as "Chinos."¹⁹ Few Spaniards remained in the town beyond the term of the *feria*, at which time the permanent population of the place was greatly increased by the influx of thousands from Mexico, Peru, and the Philippines.²⁰

The natural environment of the place was not favorable to the growth of a flourishing population of whites. Not only was the country to the rear of the town so sterile and waterless that provisions had to be brought from a distance, but the climate was most noxious to any but the mongrel inhabitants who had become inured to its intemperate heat and immune to its "Distempers."²¹ The extreme heat of the *tierra caliente* was little mitigated by the circumstances which sometimes favorably modified the weather in other places in the same climatic zone, but it was aggravated by peculiar local conditions. Thus, the rock walls behind the town not only reflected the heat into the basin, until the air was stifling, but this very enclosure kept out the sea-breezes and prevented the circulation of air within the harbor. However, in the latter part of the eighteenth century Don Josef Barreiro, the castellan of the port, had a gap cut through the hill which intervenes between the town and the sea in order to admit the cooling breezes from off the ocean. Humboldt declares that he experienced the salutary effects of this "bold undertaking."²² "Acapulco is one of the most unhealthy places of the New Continent," he said. "The unfortunate inhabitants . . . breathe a burning air, full of insects, and vitiated by putrid emanations. For a great part of the year they perceive the sun only through a bed of vapours of an olive hue. . . . The heat must be still more oppressive, the

¹⁹Pedro Calderón Henríquez to the King, n. d., *A. de I.*, 108-4-17. Humboldt lumps them together as "people of colour." *Op. cit.*, II, 187.

²⁰Juan Díez de la Calle said that in his day there were about 150 citizens [Spaniards?] in the place, including the garrison, which generally consisted of a company of infantry. *Memorial, y noticias y reales del imperio de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1646), f. 60. Humboldt gives the stable population at the beginning of the nineteenth century as about 4000, which was swelled to over 9000 at the time of the fair. *Op. cit.*

²¹"This ill Temper of the Air, and the Mountainous Soil, are the cause that *Acapulco* must be supply'd with Provisions from other Parts; and therefore it is dear living there, because a Man cannot eat well under a piece of Eight a Day; the place besides being dear, is dirty, and inconvenient. For these reasons, it is inhabited by none but Blacks and Mulattoes." Gemelli, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

²²*Op. cit.*, IV, 145.

air more stagnant, and the existence of man more painful at Acapulco, than at Vera Cruz."²³ Simón de Anda said that Vera Cruz, which was never famed for salubrity, was a paradise in comparison with the "abbreviated inferno" of Acapulco, with its "heat and its venomous serpents, and the constant trembling of the earth."²⁴ He calls it the "sepulcher of Mexicans and Filipinos." "All the treasures of this world," he declared, "could not compensate for the necessity of living there or of traveling the road between Acapulco and Mexico." In 1598 the royal treasury officials wrote to the moribund old King of the hardships of existence in a "hot and sickly land, where one lives with great risk to his health,"²⁵ and eight years later Juan Rodríguez de Salamanca petitioned to be "freed from the captivity" of serving as royal factor in this unwholesome port.²⁶

Lafond de Lurcy writes of Acapulco, "this city so famed in the annals of commerce": "It is quite probable that this place, when it was the entrepot of the treasures of Mexico and of the Indies, saw as much wealth pass through it as did Genoa or Venice. However, not the least vestige of all this remains. Now one sees only the most paltry village. . . . In the time of its greatest prosperity it counted 4000 inhabitants, and this figure reached 12000 at the season of the arrival of the galleons.

"The climate is frightful: a sky of bronze, a stifling heat, and no motion of the air. There is nothing to compensate for this desolate picture. The land, except for some trees about the houses, is stricken with sterility. There are neither streams, nor grass,

²³He says that bilious fevers and the cholera morbus were rampant at Acapulco, as yellow fever was at Vera Cruz. The air was poisoned by the miasmatic exhalations from a marsh near the town. The annual disappearance at a certain season of the water in this swamp caused the death of great numbers of fish, whose putrefaction diffused noxious emanations through the air about the town. An unusually sudden and low drop in the temperature in the latter part of the night was also very dangerous to the health of those who were not acclimated. *Ibid.*

²⁴Anda to Arriaga, July 7, 1768, *A. de I.*, 108-3-17. Anda preferred Val de Banderas or Chacala to Acapulco. Of the former region he said: "It is a country abounding in everything. It has good climate, good water, and plenty of wood, while the road thence to Mexico, for 150 leagues, can be travelled in a carriage, and through the thickest populated and most flourishing part of New Spain."

²⁵*Oficiales reales, op. cit.*

²⁶Rodríguez to the King, January 7, 1606, *A. de I.*, 60-4-30.

nor flowers, nor shade (*ni ruisseaux, ni gazons, ni fleurs, ni ombrages*); but everywhere extraordinary landscapes, a surface that has been upheaved, and burned-up valleys that betray an earth tormented by subterranean fires."²⁷

When Dufлот de Mofras visited Acapulco in 1840 he said: "The town of Acapulco is considerably fallen from her ancient splendor."²⁸ But Acapulco was never "splendid," even during the heyday of her fairs. Her habitual squalidness was then only the better set off by the contrast of the motley and picturesque concourse that gathered to the *feria* and of the rich merchandise piled high in her warehouses. When all this heterogeneous crowd went northward into the interior with its laden caravans of mules, or westward by the galleon to the Philippines, Acapulco relapsed into her wonted insignificance.

The administrative machinery of the port of Acapulco can be classified under three general categories: (1) the castellan, (2) the *oficiales reales*, and (3) the various subordinate officials. The superior authority of the port was known as the *castellano*, or castellan. In early times his position was that of *alcalde mayor*, and as such his functions were predominantly judicial and administrative.²⁹ Though he continued in the exercise of these duties,³⁰ with the construction of the Castle of San Diego his office also assumed a military character, which was comprehended within the title of castellan, or warden, of that fortress, and by that name he is henceforth generally known. In later times he also acted as "Deputy-Governor of the coast of the South Sea,"³¹

²⁷*Op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

²⁸*Exploration du Territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies, et de la Mer Vermeille* (Paris, 1844), I, 144.

²⁹"Ordenamos á los virreyes de Nueva España, que . . . pongan en el puerto de Acapulco, demas de los oficiales reales que alli estuvieren, una persona de mucha confianza y satisfaccion, con título de *alcalde mayor*." *Leyes*, lib. 9, tit. 45, ley 74. Though this law, which was issued in 1604, would appear to have established the office for the first time, a law of 1597 refers to an official with the same title at Acapulco. *Ibid.*, ley 54. He is moreover mentioned in official correspondence of an earlier date. Viceroy Villamanrique to Diego de Molina Padilla, October 20, 1586, *Depósito hidrográfico, Colección de Navarrete*, t. 18, no. 36.

³⁰"The Castellán who is also *Justicia Mayor*, or chief Magistrate." Gemelli, *op. cit.*

³¹*Método que se observa constantemente en México, Acapulco y Manila para recibir y despachar todos los años el Galeon de Filipinas* (Cádiz,

while in the *Adiciones*, or supplementary *reglamento*, of 1769 he is designated as *gobernador*, or governor.³² With such a combination of offices in the person of a single official, his jurisdiction was necessarily very wide, whether acting in his individual capacity, or in conjunction with the royal treasury officials. Above all, he was commissioned with the general supervision of the receipt and the despatch of the galleon, as well as of the conduct of the *feria*. As a consequence of the official venality prevalent at Acapulco he gained annually by different irregular perquisites as high as 20,000 pesos,³³ though his salary was but a small fraction of that sum.

Sometimes a special commissioner or *visitador* was sent down to Acapulco by the viceroy. This officer then held precedence over the ordinary body of officials for the duration of the *visita*. In 1704 Viceroy Albuquerque appointed to this place Joseph de Veitia Linage,³⁴ the author of the *Norte de la Contratacion*, the classical work on the administration of the trade between Spain and America,³⁵ and an official of wide experience in the commercial service of the government. The viceroy characterized him as an official of "unusual honor, integrity, and zeal," while the King declared himself and Albuquerque well satisfied with his work at Acapulco.³⁶ Sometimes Acapulco came within the scope of a more general *visita*.³⁷ Thus, in 1636 Pedro de Quiroga y Moya threw the trade into confusion by his rigorous exercise of this office, but the old easy-going régime at the port was in a measure restored by his successor in the same office, Palafox y Mendoza. Other examples of visitors-general who held charge at Acapulco were Pedro de Gálvez, who followed shortly after Palafox in 1650, the Marqués de Rubí in 1764, and José de Gálvez in 1766.

The essentially fiscal side of the administration at Acapulco

1763). This is a bound manuscript contained in the Bancroft Library, of the University of California. It is a compilation of the general regulations then applicable to the trade and of specific orders to different officials at Acapulco.

³²*Adiciones con que su Magestad manda siga por ahora el comercio de Manila con la Nueva España*, sect. 21.

³³Gemelli, *op. cit.*

³⁴Albuquerque to the King, May 28, 1704, *A. de I.*, 68-3-1.

³⁵*Norte de la Contratacion de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1672).

³⁶The King to Veitia Linage, January 19, 1704, *A. de I.*, 155-2-4.

³⁷See Priestley, *José de Gálvez Visitor-General of New Spain (1765-1771)*, (1916), 110, *et seq.*

was in the hands of the two *oficiales reales*, or royal treasury officials. In the beginning of the history of the Philippine trade there was no separate customs service at Acapulco, but that port was under the immediate jurisdiction of the treasury officials at the capital. However, with the growing importance of that traffic a separate fiscal management was early introduced, though it continued responsible to the superior financial authority at the capital. In 1593 a *factor* was commissioned by Viceroy Velasco with "jurisdiction over everything pertaining to the royal treasury."³⁸ The establishment of a distinct financial régime for the port dates from 1597, when a royal *cédula* created the offices of *contador* and *proveedor*, as the two *oficiales reales* were individually designated.³⁹ Acting together these officials constituted the local *contaduría*, or bureau of accounts, with charge of the double-locked *caja*, or chest, in which the moneys and financial records of the port were kept. They were above all customs officers in the modern sense of the term, i. e., they collected the duties levied on the cargoes of the galleons.⁴⁰ Whatever expenditures had to be made from the funds thus deposited in the *caja* were made with their joint authorization. Besides these more strictly financial functions, the *oficiales* had, when associated together, wide supervisory authority over all the operations between the coming and the clearing of the galleon. In order to make sure of the completion of this work they were required to remain in Acapulco until the middle of April, and might then leave for Mexico only with the consent of the viceroy. To prepare for the arrival of the next *nao*, they must leave the capital for their post on the day following the Feast of the Conception.⁴¹ Some of the administrative field at the port they shared with the castellan, with whom, however, their relations were not always entirely amicable,⁴² and, like the castellan, they were subject to the orders of the viceroy.

In his individual capacity each of the *oficiales* had a separate set of duties. Thus, the *proveedor* inherited the attributes of the

³⁸Fonseca and Urrutia, *Historia General de Real Hacienda*, IV, 461.

³⁹*Leyes*, lib. 8, tit. 4, ley 39.

⁴⁰"Porque hasta ahora ha estado la cobranza de estos derechos á cargo de nuestros oficiales de Méjico: Mandamos que se abstengan, y las dejen al proveedor y contador." *Ibid.*

⁴¹*Método*, op. cit., p. 3.

⁴²Pedro Alonso Vásquez to the King, April 16, 1601, *A. de I.*, 60-4-30.

factor, and was the purchasing agent of the port. As such his most serious task was the supplying of the galleon with arms, provisions, and other ship's supplies for the return voyage. The *contador*, on the other hand, was more directly responsible for the auditing or certification of the register and other papers pertaining to the cargo of the galleon, whether that of the incoming *nao* or the silver for the return voyage.⁴³

The most important of the third class of functionaries was probably the *guardamayor*, or chief officer of the port. He had immediate charge of the guards who served on shore and on the galleon when in port. He carried out the orders of the castellan and of the royal officials, and was particularly the executive officer of the court over which the former might preside in his capacity as *alcalde mayor*.⁴⁴ The *escribano de real hacienda* was the chief clerk of the *contaduría* or *tribunal de cuentas* composed of the *oficiales reales*. In accordance with his notarial authority he countersigned all the important official records of transactions. The *comisario de guías* issued the licenses for the transport of the silks and other goods to points inland.

Ecclesiastical authority at Acapulco was wielded by a parish priest or *cura*. "The Curate," says Gemelli Careri, "tho' the King's allowance to him be but 180 pieces of Eight, makes 14,000 a Year, exacting a great rate for burying of strangers, not only that die at *Acapulco*, but at Sea aboard the Ships from China and *Peru*; as for instance he will expect 1000 pieces of Eight for a rich Merchant."⁴⁵

The proceedings which attended the reception of the Manila Galleon, the disposal of her cargo, and the preparations for her return as the Acapulco Galleon, were regulated with as great minuteness of detail as accompanied the operations at Manila. Especially complete were the provisions of the *Adiciones* drawn up in 1769 after Gálvez' peremptory reorganization of the Acapulco administration and after the disclosures made by the visitor-general of conditions at the port had reached the notice of the central government.⁴⁶ All the regulations contained in these amendments to

⁴³*Leyes, op. cit.*

⁴⁴*Método, op. cit.*, pp. 156-68.

⁴⁵Gemelli, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

⁴⁶*Adiciones, op. cit.*

the *cédula* of 1734 were by no means innovations, though some were suggested by the results of the recent investigations at Acapulco. But for the most part they were the incorporation in more systematic or codified form of viceregal instructions and ordinances, as well as slightly modified restatements of the directions contained in the earlier statutes governing the conduct of the trade.⁴⁷ There is displayed, however, a more meticulous anxiety to secure their scrupulous observance, a more highly complicated system of precautions, dictated by a realization of the futility of former prescriptions to secure an honest administration of the galleon traffic.

On the first sight of the approaching *nao* by the lookout stationed on the high *Mira* to the rear of the town a launch was sent out to meet her and escort her into the harbor. This boat was to see that no one approached the galleon before she was moored, and turned over to the custody of the port officials. In case the galleon reached the vicinity of the entrance during the night she had to lie to in the offing, until daylight and the veering of the breeze to landward enabled her to work her way in through the narrow channel of the *Boca Chica*. At such a time contraband goods were often lowered over the sides into boats under cover of the darkness, and carried to a place of concealment on shore. Once inside the harbor and the formal salutes exchanged with the guns of the castle, an additional guard was placed upon her, with orders to prevent any unauthorized communication between vessel and shore. Any craft which approached without permission from the *guardamayor*, or his superiors, was promptly turned away.

As soon as the galleon was at her place in front of the town, the castellan and *oficiales reales* went on board to make their first visit of inspection. The latter received the ship's register and book of manifests, or *libro de sobordo*, from the hands of the *contador* and the *veedor* of the *nao*. The register was then sent off to the capital by special courier, and delivered over to the superior bureau of accounts, which assessed the duties for the cargo on the basis of its contents, and then returned it to the coast.⁴⁸ The regulations designed the first visit of inspection to be a zealous search for contraband lading, but it usually amounted in reality to a very peremptory scrutiny of the hold. When the letter of the law had

⁴⁷*Método*, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸*Leyes*, lib. 9, tit. 45, ley 60.

been complied with in this fashion and healths drunk all around, both parties proceeded to the real business of the occasion,—the making of arrangements for the landing of the illegal merchandise.

After these preliminary formalities were concluded the work of disembarcation began. The passengers were first allowed to leave the ship, and those who were in health walked in procession to church, preceded by the image of the Virgin, while the sick were taken to the hospital.⁴⁹ The first goods carried ashore were the personal baggage of the passengers, and the unloading of the main body of the cargo did not begin until these effects were on shore. In fact the hatches over that part of the hold remained sealed in the meantime. The laws required that, when once commenced, the landing of the commercial cargo be carried out as expeditiously as possible and that the proper official surveillance be exercised at every step in the transfer of the goods to the beach.⁵⁰ One of the two *oficiales reales* had to be present on the ship at all times, to see that nothing was sent off which was not duly marked and registered. Each lighter-full of bales or chests must proceed as directly to the landing-place as the oarsmen could row it, and on the way thither no speech must be held with any suspicious looking craft that might be lurking in its path. As each lot of goods was landed, the second royal official, or his deputy, compared its distinguishing marks with the corresponding invoices in the book of manifests.

Throughout most of the history of the commerce the shipper's own sworn statement—the *factura jurada*—was accepted without question as a declaration of the contents of the respective package. The only alternative was of course the actual examination of the interior of the bale or chest. However, the aversion to this procedure was so great on the part of the Manila interests and those in Mexico concerned in evading the law of the *permiso*, that few officials were daring—or disinterested—enough to defy opinion in both communities by resorting to such a measure, logical and just as it was. The most hated name in the history of the commerce was that of Pedro de Quiroga, who opened packages indiscriminately in 1636, thereby violating tradition and the gentle-

⁴⁹Gemelli, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

⁵⁰*Adiciones, op. cit.*

men's understanding, that were the guiding principles of the commerce after the early traders had established the rule of illegality. Quiroga's revolutionary activities were not allowed to become a precedent for the future guidance of the port officials, for not only did a *cédula* of two years later prohibit the opening of packages without first notifying the consignor, or his agent, of such intention,⁵¹ but an order of 1640 to the visitor Palafox forbade him to make "any innovations in the opening of packages."⁵² In view of the vague wording of the law of 1604,⁵³ this meant in practice a return to the old lenient régime, whose leniency could at least be condoned by a liberal interpretation of that statute. Again, during the few years when the *cédula* of 1720 was in operation, the physical examination of goods was insisted upon.⁵⁴ However, the *Reglamento* of 1734 restored the old custom to a status of legality,⁵⁵ and the *Adiciones* of 1769, while granting the power to open packages that appeared particularly suspicious, did not prescribe such procedure as the ordinary rule of action, but only an expedient to be resorted to in unusual cases.⁵⁶ Finally, it must be remembered that, in view of the size of the cargo and the methods of packing employed at Manila, the opening of all the bales and boxes was out of the question, on account of the sheer physical labor that would have been involved, as well as on account of the derangement of the goods which it would have entailed.

After the registered cargo had been accounted for in accordance with the certified invoices the goods found to be consistent with their bills of lading were removed to the warehouses, where they were stored, in bond as it were, until the opening of the fair. In case any lot of goods was confiscated such merchandise

⁵¹*Real cédula*, December 8, 1636, *A. de I.* 105-2-12.

⁵²The King to Palafox, February 14, 1640, *A. de I.*, 105-2-12.

⁵³"En el puerto de Acapulco se abran los registros de todo lo que se trajere de Filipinas, por la persona á quien lo cometiére el virey de Nueva España, y oficiales de nuestra real hacienda del dicho puerto, y juntos vean y reconozcan los fardos y cofres, y hagan escrutinio y diligencia, quanto sea necesario para entender lo que viniere fuera de registro y permission." *Leyes*, lib. 9, tit. 45, ley. 60.

⁵⁴*Extracto historial*, f. 39b.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, f. 208.

⁵⁶*Op. cit.*

was deposited in the royal storehouse until it could be sold on the King's account. Meanwhile, on the return of the courier from Mexico with the statement of the duties which the central *contaduría* had levied on the cargo, the *compromisarios*, or agents, of the Manila shippers arranged with the *oficiales reales* for the lump payment of the tax, which was assessed pro rata on the consignment of each merchant. When all the goods entered on the register and presumably comprehended within the limits of the *permiso* had been landed, the second *visita* was made for the purpose of discovering if anything remained concealed on board. This ceremony completed, the galleon was turned over to the officers of the local *maestranza*, or shipyard, for the careening and repairs which were necessary to fit her for her return voyage.

The Acapulco *feria*, which was opened after the termination of these preliminary proceedings, Humboldt called "the most renowned fair of the world."⁵⁷ Its general characteristics were similar to those of the fairs long held at Jalapa on the other side of Mexico and at Portobello on the isthmus. There were the same regulated transactions between two groups of merchants—three in the case of Acapulco—proceeding from widely separated regions of the same empire, and the same ephemeral transformation of an otherwise unimportant place into a city of feverish and picturesque activity.

Although the approach of the galleon was known as soon as a courier reached the capital from some point on the northwest coast with news of its having been sighted or with its first *pliego* of papers,⁵⁸ the official proclamation for the opening of the fair

⁵⁷*Political Essay*, IV, 71.

⁵⁸"We stood E. S. E. to draw near Land, and set ashore the Messenger who is to carry the letters to Mexico. . . . Saturday 5th, in the Morning the new Boat was Launch'd, to land the Messenger with the Letters for Mexico, and Madrid. . . . but the News is known at Mexico by another Express sent by the Alcade of Chiamela, as soon as a Centinel from the Tops of the Mountains discovers a Sail at Sea. Upon the uncertain Tidings sent by the Alcade of a great Ship seen at Sea, which may as well be an Enemy, they begin their Prayers at Mexico, which are continued till the Arrival of the Messenger with the Letters from Aboard. When he Arrives all the Bells Ring for Joy; and this Noise lasts, till a third Express comes from Acapulco, who brings the Viceroy Advice of the Galeon being come to an Anchor in the Port." Gemelli, *op. cit.*, p. 498. In 1757 Governor Arandía ordered the discontinuance of the "inveterate" custom of sending off the ship's papers from

was not issued in Mexico and the other cities of the viceroyalty until the *nao* had reached her destination, and the duplicate *pliegos* had arrived from Acapulco. However, before the day set by the viceroy thousands were pouring southward over the "China Road" to the coast of the Pacific. There were traders of every category,—from Indian hawkers and hucksters to great merchants of Mexico; soldiers and King's officials; begging friars and cursing muleteers and porters; and the fringe of followers who went to minister to the pleasures of the rest. In Acapulco they mingled with those who had come from Peru, or with those whom the galleon had brought from the Orient. For the greater picturesqueness of the throng the latter added the Filipino and Lascar seamen, some Chinamen, and perhaps a few Kaffirs that had been carried from the Mozambique country by way of Goa. Gemelli Careri thus writes of the metamorphosis which he saw come over the town in two days of January, 1697: "Most of the Officers and Merchants that came aboard the *Peru* Ships, went to lie ashore, bringing with them two Millions of pieces of Eight to lay out in Commodities of *China*; so that *Friday 25 Acapulco* was converted from a rustick Village into a populous City; and the Huts before inhabited by dark *Mulattos* were all fill'd with gay *Spaniards*; to which was added on *Saturday 26th* a great concourse of Merchants from *Mexico*, with abundance of pieces of Eight and Commodities of the Country and of Europe. *Sunday 27th* there continu'd to come in abundance of *Commodities* and Provisions to serve so great a multitude of Strangers."⁵⁹

For the direction of the actual commercial transactions at the fair, as distinguished from the supervisory authority of the regular port officials, the viceroy named two representatives of the trading interest of the capital. These men, with an agent from Puebla, were to treat with the *compromisarios*, or deputies, of Manila for the terms of exchange, such as the price at which each class of goods was to be sold.⁶⁰ The settlement of the sale

Navidad or thereabout. He charged that the person entrusted with them, who bore the high-sounding title of *Capitán Gentil-hombre de los Pliegos*, or "Gentleman-Captain of the Papers," made his journey across country a business trip, which profited him more than it did the Crown whose commission he bore. *Ordenanzas de Marina, Adicion*, art. 23, p. 11.

⁵⁹*Op. cit.*, p. 503.

⁶⁰*Método, op. cit.*, pp. 44-50.

value of the cargo in this fashion and the rigid observance of the limitation of the *permiso* would have precluded the possibility of any subsequent bargaining between the merchants of the two parties. However, as between the official theory and the actual practice of the traders there was the usual inconsistency. There was always more or less haggling and dealing. Though a conspiracy by either side to force a scale of prices on the other was not permitted by the law, the *compromisarios* and supercargoes from Manila often found themselves the victims of an agreement among the united Mexican interests. Sometimes a combination of the richer trading houses of the capital attempted to dictate prices to the Manileños, or they might delay making their purchases as long as possible, in order to force the latter to sell at low figures for the sake of returning to Manila with the proceeds by the galleon of the year. The islander's chance for a favorable market depended largely at such times on the strength of the competition of the Peruvians. As the latter were usually better supplied with silver, they did all possible to bargain independently with them.⁶¹ In case the Lima Ship failed to come, or in the rather unusual eventuality of a union of the Mexican and Peruvian buyers, the Manileños were liable to be driven to hard straits to dispose of their cargo at any advantage. Their position was often made more difficult by the interested collusion of the port officials with their rivals, as well as by the vexations and extortions to which those officials subjected them.⁶² Thus, the officials sometimes delayed the publication of the *bandos* of the viceroy for the opening of the fair until a few days before the date set for the clearing of the galleon for Manila, a maneuver which had the same effect as the decision of the Mexican buyers to withhold their purchases

⁶¹Witness Gemelli's experience with a Peruvian: "Tuesday 5th, I was much annoy'd with the Heat and Gnats; but much more on Wednesday 6th, by the babling of a Merchant of Peru, for he according to the Custom of that Nation, endeavouring to talk me into a Bargain, gave me a violent Headach, and yet we concluded upon nothing. The Spaniards of New Spain are of another Temper, for they deal Generously and Gentilely as becomes them." *Op. cit.*, p. 504.

⁶²*Leyes*, lib. 9, tit. 45, ley 61 (1633); the City to the King, June 15, 1677, *A. de I.*, 67-6-28; the King to Viceroy Moctezuma, June 5, 1697, *A. de I.*, 105-2-3; the Bishop of Nueva Segovia to the King, July 22, 1713, *A. de I.*, 68-5-19.

until the last moment.⁶³ But neither were the Manileños without guilt. The *trampas de la China*, or "Chinese frauds," by which they strove to defeat the purpose of the *permiso* restriction, and to introduce their excess lading into New Spain without paying either duty to the Crown or composition money to the Crown's officials, certainly gave them little ground for complaining of the tricks and frauds of their rivals or of the officials who connived at the sharp practices of these rivals, and in fact emulated them by their own conduct.⁶⁴ Or again, it might be the smaller American buyers who suffered, when the more powerful merchants arranged with the Philippine committee to take over the larger part, or all, of the cargo. Sometimes the latter bought the mass of the cargo before the galleon had reached Acapulco, by sending out an agent to the ship as she proceeded down the northwest coast. Finally, these Mexican and Peruvian traders merely claimed consignments made to them by their agent in the islands under a fictitious entry in the galleon's register. Thus, the fair, which was designed to proceed with "all formality and quietude,"⁶⁵ was only too often a hurly-burly of questionable dealings and violent contentions, mitigated only by the restraint of Spanish *hidalguía* and the occasional vigilance of loyal officials.

All sales made in the ordinary course of the fair had to be registered in detail at the *contaduría*. These certificates of sale not only served as basis for the issuing of the licenses which had to accompany every consignment destined for the interior, but such records were essential in computing the aggregate returns of silver to Manila. All the silver which entered Acapulco was, moreover, required to be accompanied by a license issued at the place from which it had come. In fact, so great was the anxiety of the official regulations to keep the trade within bounds that scarcely a peso was permitted to circulate about Acapulco without being registered somewhere. No buyer was allowed to remove his purchases from Acapulco until the fair was officially proclaimed to be closed, nor could one of the Manileños anticipate the arrival

⁶³Juan Quixano, *Procurador-general* of the Philippines, to the King, 1679, *A. de I.*, 67-6-28.

⁶⁴Humboldt, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁶⁵*Adiciones, op. cit.*

at Mexico of the authorized mule-trains by forwarding goods ahead to be sold before that date.

When that time came the long caravans of mules laden with merchandise trailed out of Acapulco and up the mountain road into the interior. The more affluent merchants and passengers off the galleon went north in cavalcades, though some, like Gemelli, preferred the hardier and more sure-footed mules for their journey. With them went all those who, in one way or another, had shared in the harvest that attained the *feria*. The Peruvians, who may have carried on their operations quite openly at Acapulco, or more clandestinely at the nearby haven of Puerto Marqués, boarded their ship and cleared her for the south. There only remained the permanent inhabitants of the place,⁶⁶ and those who were engaged in the preparation of the galleon for her return voyage.

In New Spain the "China Road" ranked in importance with the eastward *camino* by Puebla and Orizaba to Vera Cruz. About 110 leagues, by the computation of the *arrieros*, it stretched north from Acapulco to Mexico through the modern states of Guerrero and Morelos.⁶⁷ Its upper course followed approximately the route of the unfinished extension of the National Railway from its terminal at Balsas through Cuernavaca to the capital. As the road led out of Acapulco it entered the rugged defiles of the Sierra Madre del Sur,—“vast high Mountains,” Gemelli Careri called them.⁶⁸ Through this wild region the only signs of habitation were the inns located every three or four leagues, and an occasional Indian village. The road led through forests of Brazil-wood, over steep mountains, like that of the Papagayo, and across the river of the same name, and thence by the pleasant town of Chilpancingo, lying among corn fields. This was the most considerable place between Cuernavaca and Acapulco, and had several Spanish in-

⁶⁶“Thursday 7th, . . . the Porters of *Acapulco* made a sort of Funeral, carrying one of their number on a Beer, and bewailing him as if he were dead, because their Harvest was at an end; for some of them had got three pieces of Eight a day, and the worst of them one.” Gemelli, *op. cit.*

⁶⁷Humboldt, *Political Essay*, I, int., XXXVIII-XLI. There is a large detailed map of the road in Humboldt's *Atlas géographique et physique du royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne* (Paris, 1811), *carte 5*. See also Terry, *Mexico—Handbook for Travellers* (Mexico and Boston, 1909), 432-61.

⁶⁸Churchill, *Voyages*, IV, 505.

habitants. Above Zumpango there followed nine leagues of travel through a barren plain, which Gemelli likened to "that of Tirol." This brought the road to the Rio Mexcala, or Rio de las Balsas, as it was called from the rafts on which travelers crossed, propelled by swimming Indians. The next stop was at Tuspa, or Pueblo Nuevo, as Gemelli knew it in 1698, a village situated by a lake. Thence the way led through a mountainous country for some twelve leagues to another river at Puente de Ixtla, and beyond through a district of wooded hills and Indian villages to the rich valley of Cuernavaca. This favored region contained a large number of Spanish inhabitants, and in it were situated the wide domains of the Marqués del Valle, or the head of the Cortéz family. After the capital, this was one of the best markets in all the viceroyalty for the goods which the mule caravans brought that way from Acapulco. From the brim of the ardent *tierra caliente* the road climbed onto the great central plateau, over the encircling fringe of mountains and through a large pine forest, from which it descended by the Subida del Arenal into the Valley of Mexico. Thence it was a frequented route across a cultivated plain by the village of San Agustín de las Cuevas and the customs stations, to the causeway that led over the lake to the gates of the capital.

Travel over the "China Road" was by mule-back, and little was done to make it usable for wheeled traffic until the last years of the galleon trade. After the discontinuance of the latter great blocks of stone lay alongside the highway that was to have been.⁶⁹ Conditions of travel were always very primitive. Accommodations were few and discomforts were manifold.⁷⁰ The *arrieros*, who conducted the long trains of mules, camped in the fields or woods with their charges. The ordinary traveler also spent the nights on the way, lying "under the Canopy of Heaven,"⁷¹ unless he were

⁶⁹Petit Thouars, *Voyage autour du monde*, II, 204.

⁷⁰*Dificili et periculoso itinere, ob montium altitudinem petrarumque aspera, frequentia item flumina, densissima nemora, incolarum denique triste et humile ingenium, maxime autem ob eorundem infrequentiam. . . . Viatores toto hoc itinere mirum in modum infestantur a culicibus, mosquitos vocant Hispani.* Laet, *Novus Orbis* (1633), 238.

⁷¹Gemelli, *op. cit.* One night a severe earthquake took place while Gemelli was lying in an open field near the River Balsas; and again while he was sleeping among the pines above Cuernavaca there was a fall of snow, that covered his quilt, "by which," he says, "you may guess how Hot I lay."

able to make the widely scattered inns at nightfall. These inns were very rude hostelries, except at Chilpancingo and Cuernavaca, and were usually conducted by Indian *mesoneros*, who, though obliging, like the one Gemelli encountered at Amacusac, knew little of the fine art of tavern-keeping. The Italian globe-trotter passed the night in a *posada* at Atlaxo, which consisted of five cabins, "Thatch'd and Palisado'd about." "Here a legion of Gnats(?) sucked my Blood all Night," he complains, while the Tarascan inn-keeper forced him to pay a "Piece-of-Eight for a Pullet, and about a Penny a piece for Eggs." On the edibility of *tortillas* Gemelli remarked: "Hot they are tolerable; but when cold I could scarce get them down." However, he was compensated for the fare at the inns by the game which he was able to kill along the way. The Jesuit Père Taillandier, who went down from Mexico to Acapulco in 1711, says of the facilities for travelers: "The poor hostelries of Mexico had accustomed us to do without a bed, and all the other *douceurs* which the traveller enjoys in France."⁷² When Teodoro de Croix journeyed over the road in 1767 to take up his duties as castellan at Acapulco he described the roads as "impracticable," and had to carry all his provisions from Mexico and sleep beneath the stars (*à la belle étoile*).⁷³

⁷²Père Taillandier to Père Willard, February 20, 1711, *Lettres édifiantes*, XI, 381-87. Père Taillandier was ten days on the road. Gemelli Careri took thirteen days to cover the distance between Acapulco and Mexico. *Op. cit.*, pp. 505-7.

⁷³Teodoro de Croix to [Viceroy Croix], January 17, 1767, *Correspondence du Marquis de Croix*, 204.

REMINISCENCES OF THE TERRY RANGERS

J. K. P. BLACKBURN

I

When the Civil War commenced I was in school in Lavaca County, Texas, both as teacher and pupil, where I had been most of the time for four and a half years before. I was born in Tennessee in 1837 and in the fall of 1856, when I was about 19 years of age, my father emigrated to Texas with his family of wife and eight children. I taught a little primary school in Fayette County first for three months. Then I sold a horse my father gave me, got my money for teaching school, put these two funds together, and went to Alma Institute in Lavaca County for two years. I taught one year in Gonzales County, and after thus adding to my bank account, returned to my *alma mater* as pupil and assistant teacher and was there until hostilities commenced between the North and the South.

My first experience in anything that looked like warfare was had in a trip to San Antonio to help capture the Federal forces and war equipage at that place. The United States had been accustomed for years to make San Antonio an army post with a good force and plenty of army supplies under able commanders so as to be available to protect the western border from invasion. Soon after the State of Texas passed the ordinance of secession, Ben McCulloch, a frontiersman and Indian fighter, called upon the people living in the western and southern counties of Texas to meet him at the earliest possible moment at a rendezvous near San Antonio with any firearms to be had. Without delay nearly all the men able to bear arms and to do military duty, started with a rush, riding continuously without rest or sleep until we reached the place of gathering, which if my memory serves me, was on Sea Willow Creek a few miles from the city to the north. We who were from Lavaca County reached the place late in the night, probably two or three o'clock A. M. McCulloch had already sent men to surround the Alamo, then used as a fort and an arsenal for army and military supplies.

The movement was made with much caution and secrecy. Men

with rifles in hands were placed on top of the surrounding buildings so as to command the place the artillery men must occupy when they would attempt to fire the cannon. The headquarters of General Twiggs, one mile out in the country, were picketed by a file of armed men so as to prevent communication with his forces in town. When daylight came a flag of truce was sent in to the commander at the fort, a demand for surrender made, his attention called to men on the housetops and the forces now coming in to surround the fort and his army; and without firing a gun he surrendered everything he commanded.¹

In the meantime General Twiggs ordered his carriage and started for camp without seemingly knowing what had happened while he slept. Two of our men met him as he started out, presented their shot guns and told him he was their prisoner of war and so they marched him into the Grand Plaza where McCulloch and his men to the number of several hundred had assembled. I happened to be standing within a few steps of McCulloch when General Twiggs was brought in and I heard their conversation. After salutations General Twiggs said, "Ben McCulloch, you have treated me most shamefully, ruining my reputation as a military man and I am now too old to re-establish it." McCulloch answers, "I am serving my State, the State of Texas, Sir." General Twiggs replied, that if an old woman with a broomstick in hand had come to him and having authority from the State of Texas demanded his surrender he would have yielded without a word of protest. "But you, Sir, without papers, without any notice have assembled a mob and forced me to terms." So ends this episode. General Twiggs in his humiliation wept like a child and he had my sympathy and the sympathy I think of all who witnessed this meeting. The soldiers and arms and munitions of war captured—I cannot now recall numbers or amounts.²

I returned to school, but school work seemed tame and common-

¹February 16, 1861.

²In the whole department of Texas 2445 officers and men were surrendered by Twiggs. See report of Colonel C. A. Waite, U. S. Army, to Lorenzo Thomas, February 26, 1861, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. I, p. 524.

The value of the grounds, buildings and stores of all kinds surrendered in San Antonio was estimated at \$781,808.39; at the other posts in Texas, \$700,000. See report of the Texas Commissioners, Devine, Luckett, and Maverick, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 632.—C. W. R.

place and overshadowed by the tragic events on every side. War was declared by Lincoln on the seceded States, calling for troops from the other Southern States to help put down the rebellion. The Confederate Government had been formed at Montgomery, Alabama. A blaze of enthusiasm and resentment sweeping over the southland prompted patriots on every hand to get ready to defend their homes and firesides against the ravages and destruction of an insolent foe who was then moving to invade the South. The seceded States established drill and instruction camps in different parts of their borders, training men on every hand for effectual fighting. The camps were provided with competent drill masters, mobilization went on day after day through the spring and the early summer and on through the year, and regiments were formed and sent forward towards the seat of war until thousands upon thousands were mustered into service from every section that year, the year of 1861. I spent several weeks at Camp Clark on the San Marcos River, drilling and learning military tactics at that camp of instruction. All conversation on every side pertained to war and incidents and hopes and fears connected therewith. The question of, "Are you going to the war?" was rarely asked, but "Where will you go?"

I had a room-mate the last session in school named Foley, large hearted, intellectual and a poet, a Baptist preacher of ability, and a native of New York City. He and I discussed the question often and while we both preferred cavalry service, being good horsemen, he preferred to go west and northwest with the first regiment formed, I to go towards the east in order to be upon the main fields of battle even if I had to go with the infantry. We separated. He enlisted in Colonel Ford's Second Texas Cavalry and went to meet the enemy that was threatening Texas from the northwest. The next news I had from that Command, Foley had been killed in a charge on a battery at Valverde or Glorietta, New Mexico, (I have forgotten which)—killed by the last shot fired from that battery before its capture. Thus passed from earth one of the noblest spirits I ever knew.

I considered a proposition from Captain Fly who was raising a company in our neighborhood for the 2nd Texas infantry and at one time told him I thought I might join his company when they got ready to start, but told him of my preference for the cavalry.

Weeks passed. At last the opportunity came. A regiment of cavalry was to be raised in western and southern Texas for service in Virginia. Two Texans of wealth and leisure, B. F. Terry, a sugar planter, and Thos. S. Lubbock, a lawyer, who were traveling in the East—whether for business, pleasure, or curiosity, I know not—happened at or purposely were at the battle of first Manassas in Virginia, and rendered all the aid they could to the Southern cause. Terry acted as volunteer aid to the commanding general, and Lubbock also exposed his life in bearing messages during the contest. About the middle of August commissions came to Terry and Lubbock from the war department at Richmond, Virginia, authorizing them to raise a regiment on certain conditions, viz.: each man to furnish his own arms (double-barrelled shotgun and two six shooters), his bridle, blanket, saddle, spurs, lariat, etc., the Government to mount the men on good horses. The men should always select their own officers from colonel down to fourth corporal and serve in the Virginia army as an independent command. This was the opportunity that many had wished for and in less than twenty days this call was answered by 1170 men assembling at Houston to be enrolled in the regiment, afterwards called Terry's Texas Rangers. Colonel Terry immediately after securing the commission selected ten men in different sections and counties of the southern and western part of the State and asked them to raise a company of about a hundred men and bring them to Houston for enrollment in the army as soon as practical.

The company which I joined was made up from Fayette, Lavaca and Colorado counties, the majority being from Fayette. L. M. Strobel, having the authority, enrolled the names and set a day for meeting at Lagrange in Fayette County for organizing the company by electing officers from captain to corporal. At the called meeting Strobel was elected captain, W. R. Jarman first lieutenant, Phocian and William Tate (brothers) were elected second and third lieutenants, C. D. Barnett orderly sergeant, and J. T. J. Culpepper second sergeant. I cannot recall with any certainty the names of the other noncommissioned officers at this date. Our next meeting was called for Houston, Texas, where we were to be sworn in as soldiers of the Confederate States. Early in September the city of Houston was filled with volunteers anxious to enlist in the Terry Rangers. One thousand men were expected

to constitute the regiment, but more and more were enlisted until the number reached 1170, an average of 117 to each company, and others, I don't recall how many, were denied the privilege of enlistment.

A Lieutenant Sparks, who had belonged to the United States army if I mistake not, came authorized to administer the oath of allegiance to the Confederate States and enroll us as her soldiers. A little incident happened at the time which showed the feelings and determination of the men. They were lined up on three sides of a hollow square (as I now remember). The enrolling officer in the center asked this question, "Do you men wish to be sworn into service for twelve months or for three years or for during the war?" With a unanimity never surpassed, a shout unheard of before, that whole body of men shouted, "For the war," "For the war!" not one expecting or caring to return until the war was over, long or short, and the invaders had been driven from our borders.

And now the regiment is ready for service, as fine a body as ever mustered for warfare. The majority of them were college boys, and cowboys, professional men, men with finished education, men just out of college, others still under-graduates, men raised in the saddles, as it were, experts with lariat and with six shooters, and not a few from the farm, from the counting houses and from shops. Just why the regiment did not elect field officers and become a fully organized body of soldiers at Houston I never knew. In the absence of this organization, the companies not being numbered or lettered, each company was called by its captain's name. Ours was Captain Strobel's company, and was sent forward as the vanguard of the regiment toward the seat of war by Colonel Terry who assumed command although he refused to be called Colonel until he should be elected to the position by his men. The election took place in Kentucky in December following.

The company was put in box freight cars and started eastward over what was afterwards to be called the Sunset Route, which at that time ran east from Eagle Lake, Colorado County, Texas, through the city of Houston, to New Iberia, Louisiana.³ Our baggage and

³Mr. Blackburn's memory is slightly at fault here. The railroads ran from Alleyton on the Colorado, a few miles northwest of Eagle Lake, to Harrisburg, and from Houston to Beaumont, though the track of this latter road was laid to Orange. See *Atlas of Official Records*, Plate CLVII;

guns were put in the cars with us, each man retaining and wearing his pistols as regularly as his clothes. At New Iberia was a gap⁴ where the road had not been built reaching to Brashear City, Louisiana, about 100 miles. Over this gap we were supposed to walk and most of the company without a murmur commenced this march. The captain had hired wagons to transport the baggage and guns. A few men found horses they could hire for the trip and so we started with eight or ten men riding horseback and the balance on foot. The country was level, for the most part, the road was good, but innumerable lagoons or sloughs lay across this roadway from six inches to two feet deep and there was no way to cross them except to wade them. With this kind of experience, a half day found most of the men with blistered sore feet, and the further we went the more aggravated was their condition. So the captain, who was mounted, decided by the middle of the afternoon he would mount his men by impressing horses for the balance of the journey. That section was full of horses running in great herds on its prairies, so he and his mounted men found a herd of more than 100 head of all ages, sorts, and sizes, and penned them on or near the road while his baggage wagons were halted at little streams nearby. When the footmen reached the place they were told to look up their baggage, take their lariats, go to the pen and mount themselves, and the evening might be spent in breaking their horses and getting ready for the march next day.

The ages of the horses were from three to eight years, many of them had never been haltered before, some few were broken and gentle, and some of the older ones had been handled some but spoiled in attempting to break them and turned out on the range to go free. Of this last class I got one, an eight year old, Claybank gelding; but whatever their condition or habits, they were all

also A. M. Gentry to Secretary of War, Richmond, May 1, 1861, *Official Records*, Series IV, Vol. I, p. 1109.—C. W. R.

"This gap in the railroad ran from Orange through New Iberia to Brashear City. L. B. Giles, *Terry's Texas Rangers*, pp. 15-16, says: "From Houston to Beaumont, over a newly constructed railroad, it took nearly all day to make eighty miles. From Beaumont, by steamboat down the Neches and up the Sabine to Niblett's Bluff; thence a hundred miles on foot, through water much of the way; thence forty miles in carts. . . . At New Iberia, on Bayou Teche, we were transferred to boats, and went down between the beautiful banks of that stream to Brashear, now Morgan City."—C. W. R.

well broken by dark that night. Next morning one of my mess-mates, Patton by name, a school and classmate for several years, found his horse was loose and gone and could not be found anywhere near. The company was preparing to move. I went to the captain, explained the situation and asked permission to return to that pen and get another horse for Patton. He consented. Another one of my mess-mates told me he had been lucky enough to get a horse fairly well broken and gentle and that he would exchange with me until I went on that errand and returned. The company moved off and Patton was left at camp alone to await my coming with his horse. I rode back about six hundred yards to the pen where we had corraled the horses that evening. It was empty and I inquired at the house nearby of ladies—no men being at home—for the horses. They told me they had been turned out into a very large grass pasture nearby lying out south of the house. I went into that pasture and rode south from the residence; but concerning what happened for the balance of that day I am indebted to those good ladies for the information, for my mind suddenly became blank as to that matter and never since that time to this good day have I been able to recall anything that happened after I started out south from the house that day. About sunset I revived enough to realize that some one was sitting by me, pouring cold water on my head and I asked in surprise, "What do you mean by this treatment?" and "Where am I?" Patton answered, "You have been dead all day and I am trying this treatment to revive you." He then told me he had waited for me at the camp until he became uneasy at my failure to return and came up to this house hunting for me and found me there in an unconscious condition. Then the kind hearted ladies told me that I had early in the morning gone out into their pasture and had driven up a bunch of horses near the house, made a dash at them and had lassoed one of them and being unable to manage the animal I was riding, the lassoed animal made a quick circuit around me, jerked me off on the ground upon my head and that they had gone out there, dragged me to the house in an unconscious condition. They further stated the two horses thus lashed together by the lariat around the horn of my saddle on one and around the neck of the other ran off at a furious pace to overtake those gone on before, ran one on each side of the same tree, bringing on a collision resulting in

the death of the one and the fatal wounding of the other. The ladies had also brought my saddle, blanket and lariat to the house.

Now night had come on. Our company was a day's journey ahead of us and we two soldiers were left to shift for our transportation the best we could. We consulted about what was best to be done. Patton had learned the family possessed two carriage horses in their barn and we paid the ladies \$5.00 for their use to ride until we should overtake our company, pledging our honor as soon as we reached the camp to return them by their driver who was to accompany us. We saddled up and started at once, riding all night before we overtook the company. We sent back the horses with many thanks and journeyed from there to Brashear City, Patton and I in baggage wagons. At Brashear City we were all put on railroad trains again and soon after reached New Orleans, where we were quartered in a cotton compress building. Next day, aboard the cars on the Mississippi Central road we resumed our journey, without any incident of note until we reached Grand Junction, Tennessee, where we received a telegram from Colonel Terry ordering us to remain there awaiting further orders from him.

About two days later another message came announcing the fact that General Albert Sidney Johnston had interceded with the Secretary of War for our service—I mean the services of this Terry Ranger Regiment—and that we should take up our journey for Nashville, Tennessee, where General Johnston had arranged for our horses and munitions of war. This change of destination brought deep disappointment and displeasure to every one, as their hearts had been set on going to Virginia. General A. S. Johnston was a West Pointer, had served in the U. S. army both in the Mexican War and later on western frontier. He had a home and farm in Texas, and had resigned his position in the army when Texas seceded from the Union and accepted service in the Confederate army, and was at that time commanding the nucleus of what was afterwards the army of Tennessee, at Bowling Green, Kentucky. To Nashville we journeyed, and when we reached the city, encamped on the old fair grounds in West Nashville. Other companies of the regiment soon followed us and in a short time the whole regiment was encamped at Nashville.

The news of our coming and stories of the marvelous acts of

horsemanship of the cowboys had preceded us; and we proved to be a great attraction for the people of Nashville and surrounding country—so much so that crowds gathered in the mornings and greater crowds in the evenings every day while we were getting in our horses in that city. Every wild, unbroken, vicious horse in that section was brought in to be ridden. When one came in there was generally a rush made by the soldiers to get first chance at him. When he had been bridled and saddled one would mount him, pull off the bridle, turn him loose, put spurs to him, and bid him do his worst. Before he was half through with the performance another soldier would spring upon him as a hind-rider and after a time, depending upon the strength of the animal, he would come to a stand-still, completely exhausted and his riders were ready for the next act.

One attraction for the spectators was the ease with which the horsemen could ride in full gallop or fast run and pick up from the ground anything they wished to. To start this performance it would be announced from the stand or some prominent place that a number of silver dollars would be strewn along on the race track for anyone that would run at full speed and pick them up. This proposition would create much rivalry and interest among those who had gotten their mounts and a half dozen, sometimes more, would enter the contest, for by this time many had exhausted their pocket change. The money was placed by the spectators along the track at intervals of twenty paces or more apart in full view of the horsemen, and at a signal all started and generally every dollar was picked up the first dash made. Well, the spectators seemed to tire of the dollar proposition in a few days and reduced the offer to half dollars which was as readily accepted and gathered as the dollars. Later on another reduction to 25c was made and still later the ladies would bring in many bouquets to be given away in the same manner, but the rivalry and interest among the performers never ceased and thus was an entertainment given from day to day that brought many thousands of spectators during the regiment's sojourn at the Fair grounds.

During the month of November, I think, there broke out in camp a great epidemic of measles of a very violent form, which was no respecter of persons seemingly, for most of the members had it, some in milder form than others, but it seemed to touch every

one. To show how general it was in its attacks I quote from Henry Middlebrooks of our company. He said his mother had told him he had measles when a babe and he had measles when he was fifteen years old and he had them now so badly as to be rendered unfit for duty and was discharged from the service. Captain Strobel's company was first to lose a man from this epidemic, M. G. Harborough being the victim. The hospitals at Nashville and many private houses were filled with the sick and dying. I was sent to one of the hospitals where for weeks I was kept alive by the best of nursing and attention of the good ladies of Nashville who, in regular reliefs, nursed the sick night and day. God bless the good ladies of Nashville. They will always have a warm place in my heart, for my own mother could not have nursed me more carefully and constantly. The epidemic continued its fight upon the regiment until the middle of December, maybe a little longer. About that time I reported to the regiment for duty at a little village about fifteen miles north of Bowling Green, Kentucky, Oakland by name, where I joined about 150 men able for duty. Over 1000 men had been eliminated by measles; many of them died and others were discharged on account of disability and others still to return later on as they recovered. I can't recall numbers now, but I might safely say as many or perhaps more in our regiment died of this epidemic than were killed in battle in the four years the war continued.

An incident connected with the removal of the regiment from Nashville to Kentucky I feel should be mentioned at this time. Colonel Terry as a precaution against possible trouble had arranged for guards to be placed around the camp every night to prevent the men from going up town. The men, undisciplined as they were, looked upon this as an unnecessary restriction upon their general liberty, and so some of the most determined ones would manage to get out and go up every night and sometimes they would get unruly or noisy from drink and fall into the hands of the police and be locked up; but generally they were released after short detention and a promise of good behavior in the future. In this way there was some bad blood between the "cops" and the Texans, which soon brought on a crisis and bloodshed and death to some of the police force. One night three or four soldiers slipped by the guards, went up town, imbibed too freely of booze, went to the

theater and took their seats in the gallery. Captain John Smith's expected execution and Pocahontas' rescue as related in early history of the Colonies was the drama staged for the night. When that part of the play was reached where Captain John Smith, condemned to die by his Indian captors, was bound hand and foot and his head placed upon a rock, the executioner drew back his bludgeon to strike the fatal blow, Pocahontas thrust her own body between Smith's head and the descending bludgeon, one of the boozy soldiers in the gallery whipped out a six-shooter and fired upon the supposed executioner with the remark that "his mother had taught him to always protect a lady when in danger." This shot missed its mark, but created consternation and stopped the play. The police rushed in to arrest the offender, the other soldiers helped him to resist arrest, and shooting began, resulting in the death of two policemen and the wounding of another one and the freedom of the soldiers to return unmolested to camp. This tragedy was reported to the Governor of Tennessee and immediately telegraphed by the Governor to General Johnston, who ordered Colonel Terry to come immediately on the first train to Bowling Green and report to him. By daylight next morning the regiment was in the train on their way to their destination, nearer to the scenes that should soon be enacted between contending lines of battle. The baggage and the horses collected for the use of the regiment up to this time were sent on through the country by a detail of men with an officer in charge.

When Colonel Terry reported to General Johnston's headquarters, at Bowling Green, he was ordered to assemble his regiment at Oakland, fifteen miles north of Bowling Green. About the first business attended to in the new quarters was to hold an election for regimental officers and to cast lots for assignment of companies to their places in the regiment. This resulted in the election of B. F. Terry for Colonel, Thos. S. Lubbock for Lieutenant-Colonel, and Thos. Harrison for Major. Martin Royston was selected as Adjutant and W. B. Sayers as Sergeant Major. Captain Strobel's company, to which I belonged, drew the letter F for its number of place in the regiment. The other companies drew other letters of the alphabet, from A to K inclusive, except J, and thereafter the companies were called and known by letters instead of by captains' names. The organization now being complete, a roster was made

out and sent to the Secretary of War at Richmond, Virginia, and an application made for numbering the regiment, and for commissions for all commissioned officers of the same. The number assigned us was 8th Texas Cavalry, when we would have been 2nd Texas Cavalry but for the two or three months interval between our enrollment and our final organization. The first duty assigned us was to patrol and picket all that section from Bowling Green north as far up as Woodsonville on Green River, Kentucky.

The winter came on with much snow and hard freezing weather. The men were coming in slowly from their sick beds. Those already in camps had to do double duty, owing to their small numbers and the great amount of the work to be done. It was not uncommon for men to be compelled to stand picket in the snow several inches deep for four hours at a time and then be relieved for two hours and be put in again for four hours. This duty was very trying on the constitutions of those just recovering from an attack of measles. This unusual experience brought bronchial troubles or affections upon me, and although it did not send me to the hospital again, yet I have never up to this day gotten entirely rid of it.

On the 17th day of December the regiment made a reconnaissance up near Woodsonville, Kentucky. The turnpike ran parallel with the railroad for some distance before we reached the village. Colonel Terry sent two companies up the railroad and the balance of the regiment kept the pike. On near approach to the village on Green River, the two companies came suddenly upon about an equal number of the enemy who were concealed behind some haystacks and a fence near the railroad, who saluted the Texans with a volley of musketry which told heavily upon them, but the Texans charged them on horseback and drove them back toward the village. In the meantime the balance of the regiment had come up on a rise or deviation in the pike in view of the conflict, several hundred yards from us to our right. We were halted there for a little while and sitting on our horses in column of twos when suddenly without the least suspicion of what was about to happen, a heavy volley of musketry was turned upon us from a black jack thicket on the hillside east of us and very close to us. Colonel Terry immediately ordered a charge, emphasizing the order with an oath not easily forgotten, so we made a rush for those bushes concealing a considerable force with bayonets fixed ready to receive us. With

our shotguns loaded with buckshot we killed, wounded, and scattered that command in short order. Our casualties were comparatively few in numbers, but fearful in results, as we lost our Colonel, shot through the jaw, the bullet ranging up through the brain. He and his horse and three of the enemy fell in a heap. He had shot two and a ranger near him, I think, shot the third one.

This was the 32nd Indiana Regiment of Infantry we fought, commanded by Colonel Willich so we were informed by the prisoners we captured. This was our first battle and the first engagement of the army of Tennessee. We had ridden into an ambushade and if the enemy had lowered their fire sufficiently in that first volley, there is no good reason why we would not all have been killed or wounded. One lesson we learned from that experience that served us well in future operations. That was to have flankers out on each side of a moving column as well as a vanguard whenever we might suspect an enemy, so as to avoid ambushades.

In the engagement at Woodsonville Captain Walker of Company K was wounded by a bayonet passing through his lower arm and slightly wounding him in the chest. What the losses were on each side, I cannot now recall.⁵

When Colonel Terry was killed, Lieutenant Colonel Lubbock was dangerously sick and died in a short time afterwards, so under our "bill of rights" as we believed, we held another election for Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel and to fill some vacancies in line officers where they had resigned and gone home. At this election we chose Captain Wharton of Company B for Colonel, Captain Walker of Company K for Lieutenant Colonel and in Company F, B. E. Joiner Third Lieutenant instead of Wm. Tate, resigned. We continued our scouting, picketing, and patrolling in that section of Kentucky through that severe winter 1861 until February, 1862. In the meantime we received boxes of heavy clothing from our home folks in Texas which was badly needed and duly appreciated, for ours was thread-bare and too light for the cold weather.

Some time in January, I think, Confederate General Zolicoffer was killed at Fishing Creek and his army defeated, and in February, Fort Donelson on Cumberland River, after two days fighting sur-

⁵Colonel Willich reported the loss of 11 officers and men killed, 22 wounded, 5 missing; Brigadier General Hindman, commanding the Confederates, reported 4 killed and 10 wounded. See *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. VII, pp. 16-20.—C. W. R.

rendered to General Grant. These heavy losses caused General Johnston to give up Kentucky and move into Tennessee and select later the Memphis and Charleston railroad as a base of operations.

When the army reached Nashville, our regiment was sent down the river to, or near to, Fort Donelson to gather up some teams and army supplies that had been rushed out there before the surrender of the Fort, while the main body of the Confederates assembled at Murfreesboro, where we rejoined them after bringing those things we had been sent for. After a few days General Johnston moved his infantry and artillery southward to reach his new selected base at Corinth, Mississippi, leaving the cavalry at Murfreesboro to watch the enemies' movements and to impede as much as we might their progress south if an attempt was made to follow in pursuit. In a few days only our regiment and a few squads of other cavalry were to be seen about the city. Among the odds and ends of cavalry men was Captain John H. Morgan, afterwards General Morgan, with a few recruits trying to raise a cavalry command for the Confederate service, and at the same time paying most assiduous attentions to Miss Ready, daughter of Colonel Ready of Murfreesboro.

One night Captain Morgan asked Colonel Wharton for a detail of two men to go with him next day on a raid within the enemy's lines up toward Nashville, telling Colonel Wharton he already had seven men armed and well mounted, and he wished him to furnish him two more good men well mounted with blue overcoats, shotguns and pistols, which would make ten by counting himself. Colonel Wharton sent the order to Company F to make the detail wanted. Jake Flewellen and I were ordered to report to Captain Morgan next morning at sun-up, mounted and ready for the trip. Sunrise came; Captain Morgan and nine private soldiers moved out on the Nashville pike, mounted and equipped for the trip according to instructions, except I had on a black overcoat. I had no blue one and didn't want one and never did wear one. Morgan assigned me to the rear, thinking and judging correctly too that the squad would be judged by those in front and not by one man in the rear. The enemy had moved their army out on Murfreesboro pike, ten or fifteen miles, and gone into winter quarters, and were making preparations for a movement south when spring should come. We kept the turnpike road for several miles and as we approached

the neighborhood of their encampments we turned to the right and moved through fields and woodland, sometimes, in full view of their encampments and I thought uncomfortably near them. But the blue coats of the squad kept down any suspicion as to our identity and we kept our course until we were something like five miles from the city when we approached the pike again, where a thicket of undergrowth was near to the pike. We stood parallel to the highway in a line of battle for a short time, when a wagon train from Nashville loaded with provisions and supplies for the army drove up, guarded by a troop of cavalry, about sixteen I think. Armed with sabres, with guns and pistols pointed at them and a fence between us, they surrendered readily and the guard and teams and drivers all fell into our hands without firing a gun. As soon as the wagons could be fired and the teams and guards could be collected for the march, Captain Morgan ordered me and three or four others, including my fellow soldier Flewellen to take charge of them and get out of the enemy's lines as quickly as possible and not to halt for anything until we crossed Stone River, near Murfreesboro, where we should encamp and wait his return. Our trip being without incident we reached our camping place about sundown. On the eastern bank of the stream was a large commodious dwelling with a small family in it and servants in the kitchen or cabins and plenty of provender in the barn. We put our prisoners in one of the large rooms and a guard over them and a vidette on or near the river bank; had the servants to feed all the horses at the barn and by alternating in guard and picket duty passed a quiet night.

Next morning before sunrise the vidette reported ten or twelve men advancing towards us from the other side of the river. We supposed them to be Yankees, as the enemy was generally termed by us, but as they drew nearer there were no guns in sight and we decided with much relief that it was Captain Morgan and his men with ten prisoners of war they had captured and kept in the woods all night awaiting daylight so they could see their way to travel better. Captain Morgan, when he reached us related the events of the previous day after we had left him. He said they captured about sixty prisoners and had ordered four men to take them and follow us to Stone River and camp as he had ordered us, and that the enemy's cavalry which had gotten wind of his presence in their

lines were looking for him, coming upon this second lot of prisoners, recaptured them and slew three of his men after they had surrendered, one of them making his escape. He further told us that he and his companion had visited a picket post and he, pretending to be officer of the day whose duty required him to look after the guards and pickets of the army, had called to the commander of the post to come out of a house in which he was quartered and as he approached him Morgan placed a pistol to his breast and told him he was his prisoner and for him to make no sign or outcry to his fellows in the house on penalty of death, but to call them out by name, one by one, until all were captured without realizing what had happened. Then his companion was sent out to the picket post a short distance away and brought in the two videttes who were on vidette post, and being late in the evening, the enemy scouting on all sides looking for them, they hid themselves, sat up all night guarding their prisoners and very early in the morning had traveled on until they reached us and now without further delay everything was made ready for the further march into Murfreesboro, that about one mile distant.

We marched up the street in front of Colonel Ready's house, lined up prisoners, horses and spoils and guards across the street while Captain Morgan went in the house and invited his sweetheart and the balance of the family at home to come out on the veranda and see the fruit of his exploit. Flewellen and I were then relieved with thanks and we returned to our company, leaving the prisoners and spoils in the hands of Morgan and his three men he still had with him. Next day one of Morgan's men hunted me up and told me Captain Morgan wanted to see me at his office, so I went with him to the office. The captain greeted me most cordially and said he wanted to thank me over again for the valuable service I had rendered during the scout the day or two before. I told him I did the best I could with the matter I had in hand and did not deserve any special thanks more than others with me. But he seemed to look at the matter differently and said he wished to give me something to be kept as a souvenir of that hazardous venture. He then told me to select a sabre, the best of the captured lot he had and take it with me as a keepsake of the occasion. I did so and took the newest and brightest in the lot and went

back to my company with it, and while we served in the same army I don't think now I ever saw him again.

Morgan was captain then, but soon his efficiency as a cavalry officer and raider was conceded on all sides and his promotion was rapid. He made many raids into the enemy's lines, even going one time into Ohio. Men flocked to his standard from Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and other sections. He became Brigadier and later Major-General, I think. He married Miss Ready; was finally killed in Greenville, East Tennessee, in one of his raids in that section. While I prized my sabre as a souvenir, I soon found it was an inconvenience to carry with my other equipments. I had a double barrelled shotgun, two six shooters, my blanket, oil cloth, clothing, haversack, etc., to carry and I could at once see that while it might prove a nice keepsake I had no other use for it. Later on I had a chance to leave it with a relative in middle Tennessee to be kept for me until the war was over or until I should call for it, and in this way it passed the war period; after the close of hostilities I went to see my kinsman (who had died in the meantime) and recovered my sabre from his family who had taken good care of it. It now hangs in the hall of my daughter's home in Grand Rapids, Michigan, 563 Union Ave., S. E. It is her keepsake now, to be disposed of by her as she may desire.

Some time in March, 1862, we, the cavalry forces at Murfreesboro, broke camp and started to follow the army of Tennessee to Corinth, Mississippi, where it was being prepared to act on the defensive against the oncoming armies of General Grant and General Buell. Grant's army was at Pittsburg Landing and encamped out some distance from the landing on the Tennessee River in the direction of Corinth, near Shiloh church, while General Buell was moving his army from Nashville to the same point by forced marches to unite with Grant in his attack on General Johnston, now at Corinth, about fifteen miles south of Pittsburg Landing. Johnston's army consisted of about 40,000 or 45,000 men—my recollection Grant's nearly the same—and Buell's probably 50,000. Johnston decided to attack Grant's army before Buell could reach him and taking one at a time, defeat them both, and I have no doubt his plan would have succeeded had General Johnston lived a few days more. After hastily collecting his forces

he moved out of Corinth, on the evening of the fifth⁶ of April and next morning before light attacked the enemy in the encampments. The attack was unexpected and furious from the beginning. The enemy was driven slowly back towards the river all day long, making a most stubborn resistance, but gradually they gave up their encampments and artillery and equipments until four o'clock that afternoon when the Confederates were unwisely halted by an order from General Beauregard who succeeded to chief command after General Johnston's fatal wound about three o'clock that afternoon. This closed the first day's engagement with the whole battlefield, including many arms, wagons, sutlers stores, etc., etc., in the hands of the Confederates.

We slept on the battleground that night as best we could with torrents of rain pouring down on us all night and with the gunboats on the river firing over us all night to disturb our slumbers. Many of the boys visited the sutlers stores that night and helped themselves to the edibles and as much clothing as they could use or carry off. Next morning early the Federals having been reinforced by Buell's army, made an attack on us by moving forward against our left, with what was said to be eleven lines of battle, and beat our left wing back some distance and then a movement along all of our front beat back all of our line slowly but surely all day long until night closed the fight with Federals in charge of all their encampments given up the previous day. Thus ended two days of the most terrible fighting I ever witnessed before or since. Never did I at any other time hear minie balls seem to fill the air so completely as on this second day's fight. But the battle was not ended yet, for on the third day, the eighth of April, in the evening was an engagement between the Confederate cavalry and Federal infantry that ought always to be mentioned as the last act of this tragic event where losses on both sides amounted to more than 20,000 men.⁷

I will now recur to the regiment and company to which I belonged, in order to record their part in this bloody contest and to give some of the incidents of more or less interest that occurred

⁶Johnston's army left Corinth on the morning of April 3 and arrived in the vicinity of Shiloh late in the afternoon of the 5th.—C. W. R.

⁷The losses as officially reported were: Confederates, 10,699; Unionists, 13,047.—C. W. R.

at that time.⁸ When the battle commenced on the 6th of April our bugler sounded the assembly which brought us quickly into line. The several companies were numbered to ascertain our effective force at the beginning. Company F numbered 65 men in line, including non-commissioned officers, a captain and second lieutenant. This lieutenant had been elected by the company principally because he had slain two different men in personal combat, and was therefore regarded as a hero of heroes. While the company was being numbered, the musketry one-half mile away was heavy and almost continuous and this officer riding up and down in front of the company remarked time and time again, "Ah, boys, that is music to my ears," making us believe he would perform many deeds of valor when he reached the firing line. At last an order came for us to march to the front and when near there we were ordered to form columns of fours, move to rear of the enemy and make an attack from that quarter; but failing to get far enough back to take them in the rear we marched the head of the column right into the flank of the enemy's line, who, concealed from our view, were lying down behind some timber recently felled by a storm. Being at right angles with our line of march, they could concentrate the fire of their whole line to enfilade our column from end to end; and as the head of the column neared them they rose suddenly, poured a volley into us which reached every company in the line of march, killing and wounding men and horses clear back to the rear of column. Of course nothing could be done but fall back and reform for further action in a different move; but I must stop to tell you about this officer to whose ears the battle at a distance was so musical. Though not touched by bullets he became suddenly sick at the sight of bloodshed and had to be sent to the rear to avoid a nervous collapse. It was his first and his last experience in battle for he resigned and returned to Texas and we never saw him again. This lesson is that "the true test of valor comes, not in use of words, but only in action in the crucible of battle."

The regiment was dismounted and made an attack on the enemy on the left flank of our army and then moved to the rear of our army for a support to other troops in firing line, and so fighting and maneuvering was kept up until four o'clock in the afternoon

⁸Colonel Wharton's report of the battle is to be found in *Official Records*, Series I, Vol, X, Part I, p. 626.—C. W. R.

when all the reserves were ordered to the firing line for a final rush to be made as we all thought to drive the panic-stricken army of General Grant into Tennessee River. We formed the line, and awaited the order to move forward. In the meantime the enemy immediately on our front left their line in some haste and disappeared from view over the crest of the hill near the river. While we waited with much impatience for orders to move there came an order from General Beauregard telling that the battle was ended for the day and we had captured General Prentiss with four thousand of his men and a great victory was ours. When the order was read instead of creating enthusiasm amongst the men it created indignation and disgust because it was apparent to all in the firing line that the hard earned victory that had cost so much blood and so many lives was to be thrown away for the want of one more charge which as we thought then and think now would have resulted in a complete overthrow or capture of General Grant's army and the downfall of General Grant himself as a military leader. But why was the Southern army halted at this critical period? General Beauregard's excuse was it was late in the day, the men were tired and needed rest; but the truth as I saw it is the sun was still between three and four hours high and the men were anxious for this last charge to the river, which was not more than one-half mile away, I think. The men talked among themselves of the importance of the movement and their willingness to make it at the time and after events prove but too well the men were right and the commander wrong in issuing the order to halt.

I want to make a little digression from the main story to pay my respects to some erroneous history in regard to this crisis in that battle. Nelson's *Encyclopedia* and the *History of the Mississippi Valley* by Prof. Johnson,⁹ Ph. D. and LL. D. of the Agricultural College of Minnesota, I think, both agree substantially in the statement that a hastily constructed battery on the hill near the river and the firing of the gunboats from the river stopped the Confederate's advance. While I am still upon the earth I want to testify as eye-witness at close range, that the aforesaid

⁹Possibly Mr. Blackburn has in mind Rossiter Johnson's *History of the War of Secession*, on his *Fight for the Republic*, in each of which a statement of the kind alluded to is made. The name he gives is evidently incorrect.—C. W. R.

battery and the gunboat's shelling had no more to do with stopping the forward movement that day than the flowing of the ocean tides or the changes of the moon had to do with it, for nearly an hour had passed since we halted before the battery was placed and before the gunboats fired the first shot and the men had scattered from their commands looking for something to eat. So I enter my protest here and now against the careless and unauthorized way these two authors record history.

But to return to my story. There was a man, Charles Howard by name, strong physically and mentally, brave as Julius Caesar and well educated, but with the way and manners of a frontiersman, with many peculiarities. He had belonged to Company F but got a transfer to Company C for some reason I don't recall. He had gotten a nice laundered white shirt from the sutler's store the night of the 6th of April. Next morning, the 7th, as the regiment was formed to move, some one reproved Howard for tucking his shirt back at the neck, exposing his breast which was one of his habits, telling him it was a shame to treat a nice shirt in that way. His reply was, "If I get shot in the breast today I don't want the bullet to injure my biled shirt." Pretty soon we were ordered to move out towards the enemy and ascertain their position, their probable number, etc., and report back to the commanding general. Our movement, which was only intended for a reconnaissance, drew the fire of the enemy's pickets, for advance in their forward movement had already begun, and one ball struck Howard in the breast a little below the collar bone, going through him and lodging in the muscles or shoulder blade in the back part of his shoulder, not touching his laundered shirt. A little later while we stood in column still headed towards the enemy Howard came riding along the column singing "Blue-eyed Mary," a favorite song of his. As he neared me I said, "Which way, Charles, with your 'Blue-eyed Mary' this morning?" He replied, "To Texas, don't you see my furlough?" pointing to the wound in his breast. He rode horseback to Corinth that day, about fifteen miles, applied for and obtained a furlough soon after, went to Texas and about five months later reported back to his company for duty again, sound as a dollar.

Our next move was to the rear a short distance to dismount and join in with a Louisiana brigade of infantry to make a charge on

the enemy. Our movement was down a gentle slope to the bottom of a hill. The enemy came down the slope on the other side towards us. The whole face of the earth at that place and time appeared to be blue and their many lines of battle firing over each others head made a storm of lead that no single line of battle could resist and so after a short time the line was so weakened by losses as to compel the retirement of the remainder. But I want to relate an incident of the battle that impressed me as being out of the ordinary. John P. Humphries, a member of Company F, a brave good soldier carried the largest shotgun I ever saw and always loaded it with about 20 buckshot to each barrel. He had a most peculiar laugh, unlike any laugh I ever heard. As we made that charge that morning there was a small oak tree near the bottom of the hill where the line made a stand. It was right in my front so I got behind the tree thinking it might save my hide somewhat. I had scarcely reached it before Humphries came up behind me. He saw the tree was too small for two to stand behind in safety, so he moved a few steps to the left and got behind another tree about the same size. A little while after I heard Humphries laugh and looked towards him to see what had happened. A minie ball had pierced his hat close to his scalp and knocked it from his head. He grabbed it up, pulled it down hard on his head with both hands and laughed his peculiar laugh again. It occurred to me, and I mentally said, "If you can laugh at that, you will laugh at death when he comes." This repulse was the first experienced in the battle of Shiloh. After this the battle raged pretty well all day over lines resisting with great stubbornness; but by night the enemy occupied their foremost encampments, and our army retreated that night carrying all the army supplies with them as far as was possible to do.

Next day, April 8th, the cavalry were employed in patrolling the space now behind the army and as rear guard we protected as best we could the retreat of our army to Corinth from any possible attack that might be made by the enemy's cavalry or any other arm of service that might pursue it. About four o'clock in the afternoon the enemy's infantry in force kept moving up towards us until we realized we would have to check them by some means to keep them from overtaking the rear of our army. A short distance ahead of us Major Harrison, now commanding the regi-

ment, sent me to General Breckenridge's headquarters who was commanding the rear of the retreating army to tell him of the near approach of a large body of the enemy and to ask him for aid or orders. General Breckenridge's reply was, "Give Major Harrison my compliments and tell him to hold the enemy back awhile for I can't move from here yet." I rode back, delivered the message, and found the enemy had approached to within 250 or 300 yards of our position; had formed two lines of battle and had thrown out skirmishers who were making it lively for our boys who were then standing in line on horseback. At this juncture Colonel Forrest came up to us with about an equal number of horsemen to our own, placed them on the right of our line, and being senior officer took charge of the whole line, about two hundred or more in all. He immediately decided to charge so Major Harrison rode up in front of our line, telling us to prepare for the charge, and added, "Boys, go in twenty steps of the Yankees before you turn your shotguns loose on them."

Forrest ordered forward. Without waiting to be formal in the matter, the Texans went like a cyclone, not waiting for Forrest to give his other orders to trot, gallop, charge, as he had drilled his men. By the time the Yankee skirmishers could run to their places in ranks and both lines got their bayonets ready to lift us fellows off our horses, we were halted in twenty steps of their two lines of savage bayonets, their front line kneeling with butts of guns on the ground, the bayonets standing out at right angle or straighter and the rear lines with their bayonets extended between the heads of the men of the first line. In a twinkling of an eye almost, both barrels of every shotgun in our line loaded with fifteen to twenty buckshot in each barrel was turned into that blue line and lo! what destruction and confusion followed. It reminded me then of a large covey of quail bunched on the ground, shot into with a load of bird shot: their squirming and fluttering around on the ground would fairly represent that scene in that blue line of soldiers on that occasion. Every man nearly who was not hurt or killed broke to the rear, most of them leaving their guns where the line went down, and made a fine record in getting back to their reserved force several hundred yards in their rear. After the shotguns were fired, the guns were slung on the horns of our saddles and with our six shooters in hand we pursued those fleeing, either capturing

or killing until they reached their reserved force. Just before they reached this force, we quietly withdrew; every man seemed to act upon his own judgment for I heard no orders. But we were all generals and colonels enough to know that when the fleeing enemy should uncover us so their line could fire on us, we would have been swept from the face of the earth.

Some observations might be appropriately made at this time concerning the engagement.¹⁰ It was the last fight of the battle of Shiloh. The enemy turned back from there and we had that section to ourselves. Forrest and his command never fired a gun in that battle for the reason that his military maneuvers as then practiced did not allow his men to get there until the fight was over. Notwithstanding this fact a Memphis paper a day or two afterwards gave out the statement that Colonel Forrest with a few Texans on April the 8th had charged the enemy in force and completely vanquished them. After Forrest gave the order to forward we never saw him any more until we were brigaded over at Chattanooga and put under him for service. We were told that when we made that cyclone movement towards the enemy Colonel Forrest turned to his men to urge them forward faster and was struck in the back by one of the enemy's bullets fired at us as we went at them, and had to be taken off the field.¹¹

I have been asked by some persons inexperienced as to warfare why the Yankees did not shoot us all off our horses when halted so close in their front. Of course they had no loads in guns to shoot us with and we knew it for as we approached them both lines of battle had fired at us and they had had no time to reload.

There was only one Texan wounded in that fight, Lieutenant Story of Company C, and there is a good reason for that; for the enemy fired when we were crossing a low place in the ground about fifteen yards away and most of their balls went over our heads. One of them struck and mortally wounded Lieutenant Story and one ball took a fur cap off my head leaving, as my comrades afterwards told me, a small powder marked line across my left temple. One or two more incidents of this battle and I will pass on.

¹⁰The official report by Major Harrison is in *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Part I, p. 923.

¹¹For a somewhat different version, see Wyeth, J. A., *Life of N. B. Forrest*, 78-81, or Jordan, Thos., *Campaigns of Forrest and Forrest's Cavalry*, 146-148.—C. W. R.

In our pursuit of the flying enemy, as I rushed by a stump of a tree, ten feet high and two feet in diameter, looking at a Yankee running in my front a little distance I became suddenly aware of a bayonet near my body in the hands of a red faced Dutchman, and I could not tell whether he made a thrust at me and missed me or whether he intended to use it on me if I bothered him. I turned upon him, fully intending to kill him, but when I leveled my pistol at him, he dropped his bayoneted gun upon the ground and with the greatest terror depicted in his face, said, "I surrender." In an instant I forgave him and let him live. I think surrender was the only English word he could speak, neither could he understand a word I said. I said, "Take that gun up and break it against the stump" and when I found he didn't know what to do and stood trembling I pointed to the gun and made signs to take hold of it and motions to strike. I got him to understand me, he broke the breech off and I motioned him to our rear and he went off at a lively gait.

I had a messmate by the name of Ed Kaylor, a good soldier, never showing any fear about him. In this battle he came upon a captain who had vainly tried to rally his men as they ran to the rear. When he found he could not get them to stop and help him he concluded he would sell out as best he could so he fired on Kaylor as he rode towards him. They exchanged three shots each; Kaylor slowly advancing upon him. When Kaylor closed in upon him he threw up his hands and offered to surrender, but Kaylor, in language not suitable for parlor topics of conversation said, "Oh H—ll you are too late" and fired another shot, killing him instantly. An eye-witness to this pistol duel said Kaylor had a broad smile on his face during this gun play. When I heard of the incident I said to Kaylor, "Ed, what did you see in that game that caused you to smile so sweetly at that Yankee?" He said he was not conscious of having smiled, but he surely did enjoy that scrap immensely. Poor Kaylor afterwards was killed in East Tennessee while serving under Longstreet, during the siege of Knoxville, as related by a Texan companion with him at the time, as follows: Kaylor and a companion having lost their horses (in battle or otherwise) were ordered to mount themselves again by taking horses wherever they could find them back in the mountains, for the most part of that section was disloyal to the Confederacy

anyway. As they searched the mountain section for horses they heard that there was to be a dance given to the Yankee officers near where was one of their encampments, so they concluded to attend that dance, and mount themselves while the Yankees danced. But after reaching the place they concluded to go in the house, get the riders and take them and their horses both back with them, so they entered the room during the dancing with pistols in hands and demanded surrender of all the men who were in the room, all armed with pistols belted around them. For a time all seemed to go as they wished until some one cried out, "There are only two of these rebels." Then ensued a scuffle for their pistols already in Kaylor's hands and Kaylor began to shoot and several fell from his unerring aim, until some one regained his pistol, shot him and he fell dead among several he had already slain. His companion escaped and lived to tell of his taking off as here related.

But to return to the main story, the Battle of Shiloh was finished. The losses were enormous as already related. Of the sixty-five men and two officers that answered roll call on the morning of the 6th of April of Company F, only fourteen men and the captain answered roll call on the morning of the 8th of April and I was acting orderly sergeant. Now this should not be construed to mean that the other fifty men had been killed or wounded, but it does mean that those not killed or wounded were absent from roll call, most of them off on some kind of duty, such as picketing, scouting, helping the retreating army in whatever way duty assigned them.

The Confederate army collected at Corinth, and the Federal army at Pittsburg Landing, each army where it had encamped before the battle, and each one to plan its future operations was left unmolested for a time. Our regiment was ordered back to Tennessee going through lower middle Tennessee on to Chattanooga. We camped one or two nights at Rienzi, Mississippi, on our way. Awaiting final instructions as to our future movements, news came to us that General Price had reached Corinth with his army of Missourians and Texans. As I had a brother with this command in Whitfield's Legion of Texans I decided to make him a visit before we left Mississippi. It was about twenty miles I think back to Corinth, so getting some papers fixed up by my comrades as a pass to keep me from being arrested as a deserter, I

went back to Corinth as my command went eastward on their journey towards Tennessee. My papers were not genuine.

I found my brother sick from exposure during the winter campaign under Price in Missouri. I stayed with him all night and next morning moved out early to overtake my command which was by this time twenty miles and two days journey ahead of me. I rode all day and a part of the night to overtake them. They had captured a small scouting party of Yankees the night or day before I reached them.

Next morning a detail was called for from Company F to take the prisoners back to Corinth, and I was called on to be one of the guards; so back to Corinth I journeyed again, and after delivering the prisoners to General Beauregard's headquarters the following night, and resting a few hours, set out to overtake the command which was moving eastward. After about two days more I was again with the command. But now my faithful steed which I had ridden constantly since the middle of December the year before gave out entirely, worn out by constant usage and had to be left on the wayside, and I had to join the wagon train and to be snubbed as a "wagon dog" by my comrades, a common appellation given to every one who went with the wagons, regardless of the conditions making it necessary for him to be there.

The command went through middle Tennessee and had a fight or heavy skirmish with the Yankees at Sulphur Trestle in Giles County. I do not recall any results of that fight as reported to us except Captain Harris of Company I lost his life there. Arriving at Chattanooga a brigade was organized by putting Forrest's regiment, our regiment, and two Georgia regiments, three and four, I think, together, and Colonel Forrest took charge of it for service in middle Tennessee and wherever we might be needed.

At that time elections were held in different companies to select commissioned officers where there were vacancies caused by resignations or otherwise. Company F elected two lieutenants, 1st and 2nd, J. K. P. Blackburn 1st, and A. J. Murray 2nd. While we were entitled to commissions issued by the Secretary of War, we never applied for them and never received them. In fact, I don't remember of ever having seen a commission from the government for any officer in the command. The men of the different companies knew whom they had selected and, whether they held commissions

or whether they wore insignia of office or not, they always felt that they must obey the men they had elected over them. Hardly a star or bar was to be seen in the command, except in dress parade when the Colonel might show his rank on a dress coat that he kept for the purpose.

Our next encounter with the enemy was in Warren County, Tennessee, near Morrison's depot where the enemy had constructed a stockade and left about three companies of infantry to protect a railroad bridge across the river from destruction by the Confederates. The stockade was built of logs twelve or fifteen inches in diameter and twelve feet long, set on end in trenches two feet deep, close touching each other with portholes cut between the logs about as high as a man's head, to shoot through. These logs were thoroughly tamped in place and a small door left in one side for passing in and out with a screen of like make just on the inside so one going in would pass in the door and turn to left or right to get inside of the stockade. I have been thus particular in describing this fort or stockade so the reader may more easily understand why we were so easily and completely defeated by this small contingent of defenders when we attacked that fort. When within one-quarter or one-half mile of the place Colonel Forrest formed the brigade into single line, ordered us to dismount and then rode in front of each regiment giving instructions about the charge he intended to make. When in front of our regiment he said, "I don't want but one-half of this command for this engagement"—that his scouts reported that only three or four companies were up there and that they had their dinner already cooked, and he wanted us to kill them and then eat their dinner. Company F had thirty men in line, so the first fifteen were ordered to step two paces to the front, and the captain told me to take charge of them, so we maneuvered for some time to get a suitable place to charge from, but could not get nearer than two hundred or two hundred and fifty yards without being exposed to full view of the enemy from the start to the finish, so we were ordered to charge at least two hundred yards through an open field upon that fort. Of course the enemy were inside and had nothing to do but shoot us down from the start. After approaching near enough for some of our men to make telling shots at those portholes we were driven back in much disorder to the timber, back of the field from whence

we started. Our loss was estimated at 180 killed and wounded. Company F's loss was one killed and five wounded. The enemy's loss was 20 killed whom we shot in the head through those port-holes. James Petty of my company was killed within ten feet of the door of that stockade. These details of the enemy's dead and the place where Petty fell we have learned from our surgeon who was left to care for the wounded at that place.

Our next move was to capture about 2000 soldiers commanded by General Crittenden at Murfreesboro, Tennessee. We started from the neighborhood of McMinnville, Tennessee, one evening in the summer—I don't remember the date¹²—rode until about eight o'clock, stopped, watered and fed our horses, mounted again and rode until nearly daylight to reach our destination. Before we reached the town we captured the videttes on the pike upon which we were moving; also captured General Crittenden in his bed at his headquarters, a nice dwelling in the town, and learned from the citizens that the enemy had an encampment of eight hundred or one thousand infantry soldiers in the suburbs of the town, about the same number and artillery out on Stone River a mile away, and a strong guard over about 150 political or citizen prisoners at the court house.

Colonel Forrest divided his command into three divisions, sending one to attack the court house, one to attack the enemy on Stone River, each division led by a few rangers, and the balance of the rangers to attack the encampment in the edge of Tennessee. The first two bodies mentioned did little except to draw the fire of the enemy and to warn them to be ready for us in later attacks. The rangers went into the encampment with a yell and attacked the enemy as they came out of the tents in their night clothes and after a lively skirmish in which many of them fell, our Colonel Wharton was wounded and ordered the regiment to withdraw.

Afterwards Colonel Forrest collected all of our regiment behind a block of buildings near the encampment, sent in a flag of truce demanding unconditional surrender of the encampment within thirty minutes and added, "If you refuse I will charge you with the Texas Rangers under the black flag." After a little delay

¹²July 12, 1862. The fight was on Sunday, July 13.—C. W. R.

they agreed to surrender and immediately Colonel Forrest sent flags of truce to other places where the troops were with the same demand and same threat and added, "I have your General and all the balance of his command as prisoners in my hands." In a little while the whole of General Crittenden's army were our prisoners with all their artillery, wagons, teams and army and soldiers' supplies and about 2000 soldiers. Forrest had played a bold game of bluff and it had succeeded where we could scarcely hope to conquer by force of arms; for our number was about half, and half of that number were fresh troops who had never been under fire of battle before.

An incident occurred as we made the charge along the streets in the twilight of that morning which was both inspiring and impressive. The ladies in their night robes came out on the pavement and cheered with their shouts and their "God bless you," even when the enemy's bullets were flying about them.

All army stores and artillery, small arms and ammunition were put under guard to take them back to McMinnville, about forty or fifty miles (I cannot remember exactly). The troops were collected and a guard of two companies and a commissioned officer were called for to take charge of them and march them back to McMinnville. Companies F and D of our regiment were detailed for this purpose and I was ordered to take charge of them and see to it that they were delivered to the place of rendezvous. I formed a column of prisoners, eight abreast and closed them up so as to allow only walking room between them, and put some guards in front on horseback, some in the rear, and the balance on each side; thus inclosing prisoners in hollow square and gave command to move forward. I gave instructions to the guards so the prisoners could hear, "If any man makes a break from that column, shoot him down without halting him." This was near sundown and we moved without difficulty but slowly on account of the long distance the prisoners had to walk; rushing them would have resulted in breaking them down.

My guards had had no sleep now for about forty hours nor rest either, so I soon found they were asleep on their horses, and fearing the enemy might discover it and make their escape I had to use heroic methods to meet the emergency. So I rode around that moving column all night punching or pinching the guards to keep

them awake. They would generally respond by "All right" or some sign as I waked them, but as soon as I passed they would fall asleep again so my march around that column continued on and on.

Just before daylight, I received order from Colonel Forrest to park my charge in a grass lot, put out videttes and let them rest an hour or so. So I readily obeyed instructions. By the time that I had placed the guards, the prisoners had all fallen on the ground and were asleep. My guards also fell asleep and I after strenuous efforts to keep up and look after the business in my hands, fell asleep also, my horse remaining by me. When daylight came I was the first to stir. I awaked the guards and then the prisoners, adopted the same formation I had before. We were soon on the march again with still about fifteen miles to travel.

We reached Forrest's headquarters about nine o'clock, turned over the prisoners to him, and asked him for the camp of the regiment. I dismissed the guard, went to camp, and found our captain and a few men with him. I dismounted, leaving my horse with the saddle and personal baggage on him for some one else to look after and fell down on the bare ground and slept until after sundown that evening without having had water or anything to eat for about twenty-four hours. The last I had was from the sutler's store the evening before. When I got up I found my horse dead only a few steps from where I left him. He had died from exhaustion. The two days and two nights constant going on the light feed he got were too much for him and he perished in the service of his country, so to speak.

I can think of nothing of much interest occurring to any portion of our regiment until General Bragg with the army of Tennessee made a raid into Kentucky in September, 1862, I think. The cavalry of course was to be the vanguard on this trip in order to clear up the way, and keep the commanding general posted as to what was before him on his line of march.

Our first engagement was with McCook's corps near the Kentucky-Tennessee line when our regiment was ordered to feel of the enemy in that section to ascertain its strength and size of force. This resulted in several casualties to our men and in finding it was McCook's corps marching north to be ready for General Bragg when he should get there. S. G. Clark of our company was one of the killed here. I kept a diary of the trip through Kentucky

on this raid and while I lost it soon after the raid was over I remember some of the entries made. One was that from the day we entered Kentucky until the day we passed out of the state, thirty-eight days, our regiment in part or as a whole had been under the fire of the enemy's guns forty-two times, including Perryville Battle as one of the times. Fighting and skirmishing occurred every day and some days more than once.¹³ Except at Perryville our losses were generally light, but coming so frequently they amounted to many in the aggregate.

Before I leave Perryville in my narrative I shall relate incidents on that field not to be easily forgotten. My bedfellow during the trip was D. A. McGenagil. At Perryville, a piece of shell bursting in our line of battle struck him in the side, breaking two of his ribs. He was sent off to the hospital for repairs so I was without a bedfellow that night, and as the nights were frosty I looked out for some other person to get the benefit of his blanket for a covering while mine should be spread on the ground for the pallet. We only had one blanket each, hence the necessity of having a partner. The battle had continued to rage until eight o'clock at night or thereabouts, the Confederates driving back their antagonists steadily until the firing ceased. Our regiment was required to go on picket along the space where the last fighting was done. It was in a corn field near a little branch. The Federals had withdrawn but a short distance without noise, and without fires had retired after putting out their pickets on the side next to us. We were instructed to go to the place to be picketed with great caution and keep silent. We found the place we stopped on and had to stay that night on ground covered with flint rocks from the size of a man's fist to the size of his head and many dead of both armies lying around. The wounded had been removed, or most of them. I looked around or searched around among my company; we only had a poor star light, as it was mostly cloudy. I found Sam Woodward of my company with a good blanket and no bedfellow for the night, and we soon arranged to bunk together. I said, "Sam, you look for a place as smooth as you can find, as clear of the flint rock as possible, and let me know and we will fix for bed." In

¹³The report of Gen. Jos. Wheeler of the cavalry operations in Kentucky is found in *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XVI, part 1, pp. 893-900. Wharton's report is not found.—C. W. R.

fifteen or twenty minutes he came to me and said, "I have found a fairly good place, but there are two dead men on it." I said, "They are as dead as they will ever be, are they not?" He said, "Yes," and I said, "Then we will remove them a little space and occupy their place." He said, "All right," and we went to the spot selected and turned one man over one way and the other the other way (they were lying parallel with each other), made our bed between them and slept sweetly until daylight next morning; and behold one of the dead was a Confederate and other one a Federal soldier. Both had fallen on the same spot and died near each other.

Some of our boys, nearly barefooted, were searching around among the dead for footwear, all in the darkness. They had to judge of what they were getting by the way it felt. Mullins of Company D found a good pair of boots on Wheeler, I think, another ranger who was asleep among the dead. He immediately decided the boots would suit, grabbed one of them, and jerked it off Wheeler's foot. This aroused Wheeler to consciousness and he called out, "What in the h-ll are you doing there?" "Nothing, d—n you, I thought you were dead and I needed those boots." John P. Humphries, of whom I have spoken before, needed footwear and went out after daylight to see what were the chances. He found a Yankee, dead, sitting against a tree, with a good pair of shoes. John got down on his knees to take off the fellow's shoes and, just as he got one unlaced and ready to pull off, took another glance at the Yankee's face and the Yankee winked at him. He left the shoes on his dead man and came to camp and told it, and laughing that peculiar laugh, said he didn't want any shoes anyway.

Next morning our army moved to Harrodsburg, Kentucky, and the other army stayed near where they had camped before, not seeming to want to follow us, except at a considerable distance from us.

One other incident of the Perryville Battle I will mention. There were two young men, about eighteen and twenty years old, brothers, named George and Simeon Bruce who came to Texas to live, from Vermont, about eight months before the commencement of hostilities. They had no relatives or interests in Texas, but when the war came up they volunteered in our regiment, saying the South was right in its contentions, and they freely offered their

lives in its defense. At Perryville Simeon Bruce was shot through the calf of his leg with a grapeshot and George was left with him to care for him. They communicated with homefolks in Vermont and told of their whereabouts and conditions. An answer soon came back with money for every need and urging their return home. They were informed, also, that one of their brothers was a colonel in the Federal army and another one a surgeon in the same army. The family where they were staying also urged them to go home when they learned the facts concerning them. The boys didn't entirely consent to return, but said they would give it favorable consideration, not fully committing themselves to any certain course, but rather left the impression when Sim recovered they might go home. Sim after a long time got so he could ride horseback without much discomfort and then the boys bought horses with the money sent them and hastened South to their command and remained with it, making splendid soldiers until the war ended and returned to Texas and are there or in Oklahoma yet, or were when I last heard from them. When they returned to us I said, "I love my country and have offered my life in her defense, but I believe you Bruce boys are truer patriots than I am." As to the losses in this battle, I cannot recall. It was quite sanguinary and losses were heavy on both sides.

After the battle of Perryville the Confederate army moved towards Cumberland Gap in eastern Kentucky. The Federal army followed at a safe distance; our cavalry was rearguard to the Confederates. Skirmishes light and heavy with the enemy's advancing column was our daily pastime, sometimes twice or three times a day. Rations became scarcer day by day as we traversed the poor mountainous regions of eastern Kentucky. The people in there were generally poor with small patches in cultivation and few live stock, and all they had to live on had been consumed by the infantry which preceded us; so it must be clear to the reader that the cavalry suffered for want of food supplies. They were kept too busy to make excursions off the line of march to get food so they fasted and fought for days without anything worth mentioning. I saw men trimming beef bones left by the infantry, where they had killed the beeves and issued the meat to the men, thus getting a little of the stringy leaders off of them. Then they would break them and get the marrow inside. I saw a number of

men, of whom I was one, pick out the scattered grains of corn tramped in the ground by some infantry officer's horse where he had been fed a day or two ahead of us, and eat them with a relish, thus proving the adage that hunger is a good appetizer.

One day we were fighting a large force of the enemy's infantry and our Colonel thinking we would not be able to check them sent to our infantry for help. A brigade of our men came back to our assistance, and General B. F. Cheatham came with them, but they reached us after we had driven the enemy back and didn't need their help. General Cheatham had eight or ten ears of corn tied on his saddle behind him to feed his horse. A hungry Texan spied him and said, "Old man (addressing Cheatham), I will give you a dollar apiece for those ears of corn." The general with a haughty, dignified look said, "Do you know whom you are talking to?" The soldier said "No, and I don't care a damn, but I will do what I said I would about that corn." The general smiled, untied his corn, and threw it to the hungry men who scuffled over it as very hungry hogs would have done.

In a few more days we passed out of Kentucky through Cumberland Gap, moved on to Knoxville, Tennessee, and camped a few days to rest. The first night we were at Knoxville it snowed all night and next morning the ground and the army was covered with a three inch snow. We had no tents or covering of any kind, but our sleep was sound and restful. The leaves were still green on the trees and the contrast in colors between the leaves and the snow was quite impressive, and very unusual. This was in October, 1862, if my memory serves me correctly.

From Knoxville the army moved to middle Tennessee. Our regiment was camped at Nolensville, about fifteen or twenty miles south of Nashville. Our duty was to watch the movements of the Yankee army now assembling at Nashville and to keep our general posted about them. We remained at this point until Christmas Day. Some of the boys were preparing to have an egg-nog for Christmas when suddenly our pickets were driven in and reported a large force of infantry and artillery moving upon us. The regiment was mounted at once to meet this advance. As soon as we came in full view of the enemy they opened fire with artillery, four guns throwing what seemed to be about six pound shells. I was in command of Company F that day, the captain

being on the sick list but still in camp. As we moved in columns of twos in front of the enemy their shells got our range pretty quickly. One shell burst in rear of my company doing slight damage, another one entered the body of a horse near my horse's head, bursting inside the horse and knocked my horse to his knees and covering him and me with blood and flesh from the other horse. Strange to say the trooper riding this torn up horse escaped without the slightest injury. His name was Glasscow of Company C; he was riding in the rear of his company in front of me. A few steps further another shell passed between my horse's head and the rear of another horse ridden by Lieutenant Black, cutting down a cedar tree as large as a man's leg, just on the left of us. We moved further to the left out of range of this artillery, dismounted, formed a line and moved out towards, or to the left of this battery somewhat; but before we made the attack a flanking command was discovered moving to our rear on the right and we returned to our horses and rode over to the right of the first alignment to meet this flank movement and while engaging these with a furious fire another force equally strong was approaching from the front and we had to retire for a new alignment.

Colonel Harrison, passing by me as we had begun to retire before the enemy, said, "Form your company on this rise and hold the position while I form the regiment behind you in supporting distance." I called on my men to fall into line, but they had turned towards the rear and the heavy firing of the enemy from two points made it almost impossible for men or horses to get their consent to face the other way and stand still; so I urged and I ordered with all the vehemence I possessed, sometimes getting as many as two or three to face about and make a temporary halt and then move on. Finally Gabe Beaumont of Company A, who had fallen behind his company in the different movements, seeing my trouble said to me "Lieutenant, I will stand; form your company on me." He took his stand, I rushed my men in line with him, and having got my men in line was riding up and down the line encouraging all I could to stay there. The enemy's bullets were flying uncomfortably thick. I heard a ball strike when near Beaumont and saw his gun fall, but he stood perfectly still until I approached him. I asked Gabe, "Are you badly

hurt?" He said, "I think I am." I said, "I will excuse you now. You can retire and my men will stay here without you." So I sent him off with a man to help him if he needed help. This ball shivered his left arm just below the shoulder joint and had to be taken off at the shoulder to save his life. He was shot out of service, but he demonstrated to his comrades in arms what true bravery could accomplish. I met this brave hero many years after in Coleman, Texas. He had studied medicine after the war and made a success in that profession. A while after Beaumont was sent to the rear, the Colonel sent me word to withdraw my company and fall back to my position. This ended the fighting for the day, and that night, after viewing the enemy's encampments with Company F, trying as best I could to make an estimate of their numbers and reporting the same to the Colonel, we rested.

The regiment moved to Murfreesboro where two armies were rapidly gathering for one of the great battles of the Civil War. Just whether we moved that night, or fell back gradually as the enemy advanced to Murfreesboro I cannot now recall, but on the first day of January, 1863, brigade skirmish line was formed from our brigade and I was ordered to take charge of this line. The men were placed in line ten feet apart on foot in one side of an old field grown up in long weeds about as high as a man's head. The enemy were in the other side of the same field. Our skirmishers were armed with rifles or muskets for the occasion. I was told to keep the men to their places so there would be no weak spot and no bunching of our men on the line, to keep them firing continually, etc., etc. As I rode along that long line of men—I was the only man on horseback in that line—I saw that Bill Simpson of Company F was about two feet, or three feet at the most, from a high poplar stump in line with the men, so I said, "Bill, take the stump. There it is but a little ways from your place and it may save your life or your limbs." He looked up at me and said, "I thank you, I am doing very well here," and refused to use it. These two lines of skirmishers were in what was afterward known as the left flank of our army during the battle and as far as I am able to tell now this was the beginning of that great battle.

We were relieved after a while by some infantry and we re-

mounted our horses to meet some Yankee cavalry that came in on our left. We charged them, drove them, and scattered them. As we returned from pursuing them my horse slipped and fell, throwing me on the horn of my saddle and producing a case of nearly strangulated hernia from a slight rupture I had had before. This fall laid me up for several days and took me off the battlefield until the battle ended and longer. Whatever else I relate of this battle or as to what happened in or to the regiment must be from hearsay and not from personal observation. The regiment was engaged all the time, sometimes in the flank, sometimes in the rear of the enemy; sometimes fighting infantry, sometimes cavalry; capturing many of the enemy and destroying much of his supplies.

One or two incidents I wish to relate happened during that conflict. A Yankee General fell into the hands of the Rangers. They asked him his name and rank. He said, "General Willich." "The same who commanded the 32nd Indiana Infantry as Colonel?" he was asked. "Yes the same, and who are you," demanded the General. "Terry Texas Rangers" was the reply. "Mein Gott," said General Willich, "I had rather be a private in that regiment than to be a Brigadier General in the Federal army." Willich had met the boys at Woodsonville, Ky., as Colonel of the 32nd Indiana regiment and had met them at Murfreesboro as Brigadier General and had lost out both times and was qualified to judge of their military prowess. General Willich was Dutch or German, with a foreign accent.

Colonel Harrison by this time had so long escaped personal injury from shot and shell, his men dubbed him "Old Iron Sides," because as they said he was sheathed with iron and no bullet could penetrate his body. On the second day of this battle, Billy Sayers, his Adjutant, sat on his horse beside him under a heavy fire. Colonel Harrison leaned over to Sayers and whispered, "I am wounded, but don't say anything about it on account of the men." Billy wanted him off the field, but he refused to go. It proved to be a flesh wound in the hip, not very serious, and he stayed with and commanded the regiment throughout the battle. On another occasion the Colonel, while standing in front of his line ready to make or receive a charge as it might happen, was looking through his field glass at a body of cavalry some distance

off. Suddenly he exclaimed, "Now boys, we will have some fun. There is a regiment out there preparing to charge us, armed with sabres. Let them come up nearly close enough to strike and then feed them on buckshot." So they came up with great noise and pretense, hoping to demoralize and scatter their opponents and then have a race in which they could use their sabres effectively. But as the Texans stood their ground the Yankees ran up to within a few steps and halted suddenly, giving our boys the chance they were wishing for. One volley from the shotguns into their ranks scattered these sabre men into useless fragments of a force. Many of them surrendered and our boys quizzed them with merciless questions. "Why did you stop?" "Are your sabres long ranged weapons?" "How far can you kill a man with those things?" After a conflict lasting two days with varying success and defeat for both armies, the Southern army withdrew to the south, leaving the other army with fresh reinforcements encamped not far from the last lines of battle the evening before.

The weather had turned fearfully cold and the earth would freeze very hard at night. About the first night after we left Murfreesboro Jim Stevenson, coming off of duty late, came to the log heap fire of my mess, and asked permission to sleep near our fire. Jim was a shiftless boy whose dress was weather worn and untidy, his body generally dirty and infected with what the boys called "graybacks." So no one would sleep with him and he didn't expect any one to divide bedding with him. We granted his request and he made his pallet down a little space from the rest of us and went to sleep. Next morning he slept on after daylight. I went to see how he was faring and to awake him if still living. I caught his top blanket at his head and raised it up and as it was set and frozen it stood up on the other end like a dried raw hide would do with like handling. I said, "Get up my boy, don't try to sleep all day. How did you sleep?" He replied, "Bully," that he had two blankets last night. He had an old thread bare blanket under him and a heavy army blanket he had captured from the enemy during the battle just fought. He had slept all night without moving, as evidenced by an unfrozen streak, just the shape of his body on that blanket where he had lain on his side; the rest of that blanket being frozen stiff

as a board. Jim could suffer hardships without a murmur, and although he was shiftless and loved to play poker he could always be depended upon when there was any fighting to be done. He was a brave man and a good soldier.

(Continued in October.)

MINUTES OF THE AYUNTAMIENTO OF SAN FELIPE
DE AUSTIN, 1828-1832

III

EDITED BY EUGENE C. BARKER

[p. 42]²² A regular meeting of the Ayuntamiento took place on Monday the 1st day of February A. D. 1830. Present, Thomas Barnett President, Walter C. White and Jessie Cartright Rigadores, William Pettus Procurador, Samuel C. Hiram and John Huff comissarios and Isaac Vandoin Syndico.

On motion, Thomas G. Gazley was appointed clerk of the Ayuntamiento to discharge such duties as may be required of him by that body until a secretary acquainted with the Castilian language can be procured and to use his name as secretary Pro Tem, during that time.

A Petition was presented praying for a right to keep a public Ferry, signed by Nathaniel Lynch.

Shoeball [Shubael] Marsh appeared and was sworn in the office of Syndico for the district of Victoria.

On motion of William Pettus—Ordered that Nathaniel Lynch be authorized and empowered to keep a public Ferry to cross the San Jacinto at the mouth of Buffalo Bayo to continue one year from the first day of January 1830 with such privileges as the law allows him and to have the exclusive right thereof.

Ordered that any hog or hogs running at large without a mark over one year old, shall be considered the property of any person who may find them in this Jurisdiction and any person may seize or kill such hog or hogs with impunity, and further that this order shall be published in the Texas Gazette for 4 week successively.

[p. 43] On petition of William Morton Ordered that a twelve acre lott be granted to him adjoining the town of Austin upon condition that the said Morton makes a selection of one unap-

²²From this point copy is from the original English.

propriated and gives information of such selection to the Ayuntamiento within one month from this time and upon the further condition that the said Morton established a brick yard on said lott by the first day of August next

Ordered that a public sale shall be made of vacant town and out lotts on the first Saturday in March next in the town of Austin upon a credit of Six months. The purchaser will be bound if it be a town lott to build a house upon it and if an out or 12 acre lott to have it enclosed with a fence within one year from the time of purchase, *to be published 4 weeks.*

Ordered that the clerk makes advertisements for publication in due form, observing the substance of the order or decree of the Ayuntamiento.

On petition of G. B. Cotton ordered that the sum of fifty dollars which he owes for two town lotts be rendered and he be discharged and acquitted from paying the same upon condition that he publishes all orders, decrees, advertisements, etc., etc., of the Ayuntamiento at any time when required, for the term of one year, from the first day of January 1830, and that a title to said lotts be made to Cotton and Williamson.

[p. 44] On petition of William Robinson Ordered that a road be granted agreeable thereto, and James Ross, Joseph Duty, and William Robinson are hereby appointed supervisors to view lay out and report said rout to the Ayuntamiento on the first Monday of March next.

On motion of Samuel C. Hiram Ordered that a road be laid out upon the most eligible rout from the town of Austin to Harrisburg and that William Pettus Samuel C. Hiram Randle Jones Martin Allen and William Vince be appointed supervisors to view lay out and report said road to the Ayuntamiento on the first Monday in April next.

Ordered that a road by the most suitable rout be laid out from the town of Harrisburg to the house of John Jones on the Saja Cinto and John Jones, Humphrey Jackson and Robert Cartright be appointed supervisors to view lay out and report said Road to the Ayuntamiento on the first Monday in April next.

On motion of Walter C. White Ordered that a road be laid out by the most suitable rout from the town of Austin to the town

of Marion and that Martin Varner, Joseph Kykendal and Jesse Tompson be appointed supervisors to view lay out and report said road to the Ayuntamiento on the 1st Monday in April next.

Ordered that a road by the most suitable rout be laid out from the house of William Morton to the town of Harrisburg and [p. 45] that John Fitzgerald Elijah Allson and William Morton be appointed supervisors to view layout and report said road to the Ayuntamiento on the first Monday in April next.

Ordered that the President of the Ayuntamiento be and he is hereby required to compel all and every person or persons who have at this time or have had any effects in credits, debts due or money in their possession which belongs to the Ayuntamiento of this municipality to surrender the same to him or give a satisfactory account thereof and also to call upon any person or persons he may deem proper and require them to furnish information touching the financial concerns of this municipality and the said President is further required to report the same fully to the Ayuntamiento at their next meeting on the first Monday in March next.

Ordered that the Ayuntamiento adjourned till tomorrow 9 o'clock A. M.

February 2d 9 o'clock A. M. The Ayuntamiento met pursuant to adjournment.

On petition of N. Dillard Ordered that a road be laid out on the most elligable rout from the town of Austin to the La Bacca in the direction to Laberdee and that Nich. Dillard, James Kerr and Thomas Cox be appointed supervisors to view lay out and report said road to the Ayuntamiento on the first Monday in April next.

A demand was presented by John C. Reed for ferreage of troops, etc., etc., which demand after being duly considered was rejected.

[p. 46] Ordered that Benjamin Lindsey, Henry W. Johnson, George Teel, Isaac Foster, Kinchew Holloman [Kinchén Holliman], James A. E. Phelps and those who are interested in labors adjoining to the upper part of the land of Elisabeth Tumbleson decd on the west side of the Colorado river (except Jesse Burnham) be notified by a publication in the Gazette for 4 weeks to

appear in person or by agent before the Ayuntamiento of the jurisdiction of Austin at their next session on the first Monday in March 1830 to give legal information to the said Ayuntamiento concerning the improvements which have been made upon the several tracts of land heretofore granted to them by government in order to enable the Ayuntamiento to judge how far the colonization law has been complied with for the purpose of representing to the government the situation of the several tracts of land aforesaid. And it is further ordered that the petitioners for the above named tracts of land be notified to appear at the same time and place to make proof of their pretensions, etc.

The Ayuntamiento then adjourned til the next regular meeting.

Thos Barnett Prest

Thos. J. Gazley Seerty Pro Tem

[p. 47] A meeting of the Ayuntamiento took place on Monday the 1st day of March 1830. Present Hon. Thomas Barnett President, H. H. League 1st Rigadore, Jesse Cartright 2 Rigadore and William Pettus Syndico Procurador

The Ayuntamiento examined the petition of W. D. C. Hall relative to a league of land heretofore granted to J. A. E. Phelps and after investing [sic] the subject report that the said league of land in said petition mentioned has an improvement of about 30 acres upon it which has been left with an agent and working hands and that the said Phelps has complied with every requisition of the law except his removal to this colony.

The petition of Robert Peebles was examined relative to a league of land heretofore granted to K. Haliman [Holliman] and after investigating the subject the Ayto. report that the statements contained in the report of the empresario accompanying the petition are substantially correct.

The Petition of Nestor Clay was examined relative to a league of land Granted to George Tiel and after investigating the subject the Ayuntamiento report that the land was granted to the said Tiel and that Tiel made some improvement on the land and then alienated the land to one Michael Turner and the said Turner is indebted to Stephen Richardson the amount for which the land sold 4 or 500 dollars and the said Richardson comes and objects to a grant of the said land being made to the [p. 48] said Clay and gives information that he is a petitioner for the

same. And they further report that Tiel is yet a citizen of this government and they believe that Turner is a resident within the same.

The Petition of Thomas H. Borden relative to a tract of land granted to Henry W. Johnson was examined and the Ayuntamiento report that the said land has never been cultivated nor improved and further that the said Johnson is not a resident of this colony.

The petition of Francis F. Wells relative to a league of land granted to Benjamin Lindsey was examined and after investigating the subject the Ayto. report that the said Lindsey lived in this colony between 4 and 6 months, that he came in June with a part of his family and moved away in the fall of the same year 1826 and then moved to Ayish Bayo where he continues to reside.

The petition of Henry W. Munson relative to a league of land granted to Isaac Foster was examined and the Ayto. report that Isaac Foster has cultivated the land, has lived in the country ever since the land was granted and recently died in this colony leaving many relatives.

The petition of W. D. Dewees relative to certain Labors on the west side of the Colorado was examined and the Ayto. report that the Labors are vacant and have never been cultivated.

[p. 49] The salary to be paid to Thos. J. Gazley for discharging the duties mentioned in the order of his appointment is established by the Ayto. to be at the rate of three hundred dollars pr. annum to commence from the first day of February A. D. 1830.

The Ayto. adjourned till tomorrow morning 10 o'clock.

Tuesday March 2d 10 o'clock a. m. The Ayto. met pursuant to adjournment.

On motion of H. H. League Ordered that the president be authorized to procure a piece of furniture suitable for keeping and preserving the records and papers of the judiciary and also for the safe keeping of all papers and documents of the municipality and pay for the same out of any funds not otherwise appropriated.

Ordered that the keeper of the ferry shall be bound to cross any person who may apply between sunrise and 10 o'clock at night. If any be crossed after dark the ferryman will not be

liable for accidents and he will be entitled to receive double ferryage. After 10 o'clock at night the ferryman is not bound to cross the river except in case of a person in search of medical aid. To be published 3 weeks

[p. 50] Ordered that the purchasers of lotts be notified to appear on the 15th day of this month (March) at the Alcaldia's office and execute there notes to the Alcalde agreeable to the terms of sale. For publication

On motion of H. H. League Ordered that the Alcaldia be authorized to procure a translation of such acts of the legislature as are in force and relative to judicial proceedings in this colony and cause the same to be published and that the Alcaldia employ a trust-worthy discreet and confidential person for a translator.

On motion of H. H. League Ordered that the Ayto. report to government that William Rabb has been a good citizen of Austin's colony and has resided in it since the year 1823 and the said Rabb became a grantee of lands and has discharged the duties of a citizen settler in all respects agreeable to the colonization law as far as possible settled upon his land and was three times driven off by hostile Indians and the settlement broke up. The lands are situated on the east side of the Colorado river about 3 miles above the Laberdees [La Bahia] road. And after investigating and fully considering the case the Ayto. further report that the said Rabb ought to have the titles to his said lands confirmed as set forth in his deed.

[p. 51] On motion of William Pettus—Ordered that the president having been unable to procure satisfactory information in compliance to an order made at the last meeting, that the further time of one month be given for that purpose. And the Ayto. adj'd til the next meeting

Thos. Barnett Prest

Thos. J. Gazley Sec Pro Tem

Agreeable to an Order of the Ayuntamiento and a Notice in the Gazette a Sale of Lotts took place on Saturday the 6th day of March 1830—

The lotts were sold as follows

Out lott No. 23 was sold to Joshua Parker for.....	\$ 30.00
Out lott No. 44 was sold to Robert Peebles for.....	150.00

Town lotts Nos. 137 and 138 to Saml H Harden 15. each.	30.00
Out lotts Nos. 40 & 39 to C. H. Vanderveer—30. each...	60.00
Out lott No. 37 to William McFarlan.....	30.00
Town lott No 121 to Patric Green.....	15.00
Town lotts Nos. 46 & 47 to Joseph White \$15.00 each...	30.00
Town lott 127 to Seth Ingram.....	15.00
Out lott No. 36 to Ira Ingram.....	30.00
Town lott No 136 to Patric Dolen.....	15.00
Town lott No 139 to Robert Matthews.....	15.00
Town lotts Nos. 190—191 & 192 to Thos. J. Gazley 15 each	45.00

Whole Amount of the Sale.....\$465.00

Thos. Barnett

Alcalda

[p. 52] The Ayuntamiento met on Monday the 12th day of April 1830. Present Hon Thomas Barnet President H. H. League 1st Rigador Jesse Cartright 2d Rigador and William Pettus Syndaco Procudor.

On motion of H. H. League—Ordered that in consequence of the death of Abraham H. Phillips one of the members of the Ayto. That the president be required to notify Churchil Fulcher the next constitutional member to appear at the next meeting and take his seat as Rigador.

On petition of Nestor Clay—Ordered that the said Clay and Stephen Richardson be permitted to appear before the Ayto. at their next session and give testimony etc. relative to a league of land heretofore granted to one George Tiel.

On petition of Martin Allen—Ordered that a right to keep a ferry across Buffalo Bayo opposite the town of Harrisburg be granted to the said Allen with the same rates of ferriage that are allowed for crossing the river Brasos at the town of Austin.

On motion of Thomas Barnett—Ordered that a right to keep a ferry across the Brasos river be granted to Jno. Robinson with the same rates that are allowed for crossing the river Brasos at the town of Austin.

On motion of William Pettus—Ordered that all purchasers of lots be notified to appear before the [p. 53] alcalda on or before

the first day of May next and give their obligations agreeable to the terms of sale under penalty of having their lots forfeited and sold to the highest bidder at their own loss and also that all persons indebted to the Municipality be notified to appear and settle with the Alcalde within the same time—for publication.

On petition of Joseph White and Thos. J. Gazley—Ordered that the title to Town lots Numbered on the plat of the town 133-134 and 135 be made to the said Thomas J. Gazley by the authority on the part of government as if the said Gazley had been the purchaser at public sale which took place in December last and that the said Gazley from this date be recognized as the purchaser of said lots from the Municipal authority.

Ordered that a public sale be made of vacant town and out lots on Saturday the 15th of May upon a credit of six months the purchasers giving bond and security conditioned to pay etc., etc., if it be a town lot to build a house upon it or if it be an out or 12 acre lot to have it enclosed with a fence or a house built upon it within one year from the purchase. A[n]y number of lots purchased by one person lying in a block will be considered sufficiently improved if the purchaser build one house upon it and enclose it by a fence within one year (to be published)

[p. 54] Ordered that William Morton, Joshua Fletcher and Thomas Davis be appointed a committee to direct and superintend laying off out lots adjoining the town of Austin

The Ayto. adjourned til to-morrow 9 o'clock A. M.

Tuesday April 13—9 o'clock A. M. The Ayto. met pursuant to adjournment.

On motion of Thomas Barnett—Ordered that all investigations relative to lands be suspended until the next meeting.

On motion of H. H. League—Ordered that the same committee appointed to lay off out lots be required to lay off eight 50 acre lots on lands clear of Timber (Prarie) 4 of which are to be laid off at the lower boundary line of the same league and the other 4 at the lower boundary line of the same league and make report to the Ayto. at their next meeting.

On motion of William Pettus—Ordered that purchasers of 50 acre lots shall enclose $\frac{1}{4}$ of the lot within one year.

On application—Ordered that Thos. J. Gazley be admitted to

the practice of Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery within this jurisdiction.

The Ayto. adjourned til the next meeting.

Thos. Barnett Prest.

Thos. J. Gazley Secy Pro Tem

[p. 55] Monday 3 May 1830—The Ayuntamiento met.—Present Thomas Barnett Alcalde President, H. H. League 1st Regidor, Jesse H. Cartwright 2nd Regidor, and Wm. Pettus Sindico Procurador.

Churchill Fulcher, constitutional successor of the late 4th Regidor Abraham H. Phillips deed took the oath prescribed by law and assumed his seat as one of this body.

It was ordered, H. H. League 1st Regidor dissenting, that Mr. J. G. Holthans [Holtham] be appointed and he is hereby appointed Secretary of this Ayuntamiento for the remainder of the present year, and that his Salary be fixed at the rate of five hundred Dollars per annum, payable out of the municipal fund quarterly.

It was ordered—that all proceedings heretofore had by this Ayuntamiento relative to land claims referred to them by the Commissioners and Empresario of Austin's Colonies, and all orders and resolutions made by this body, concerning the same be and are hereby declared null and of no effect.

On motion of H. H. League, 1st Regidor, the following Resolution was adopted—"The Ayuntamiento of this Municipality having been called upon by the Empresario and Commissioners of Austin's colony to ascertain and report how far certain individuals had complied with their duty as settlers in said Colony, according to the requisitions of the Colonization Laws, and knowing, as each member of this body does know, the great privations hardships and sufferings that the Settlers have been compelled to [p. 56] encounter in settling an uncultivated wilderness and that from the beginning of the Settlement the Citizens have been compelled to perform many campaigns in order to ward off the depredations of hostile Indians, by which they have been compelled to neglect the improvement and cultivation of their lands, and that many families have been broken up and many lives lost among those who have attempted to improve their lands on the frontiers, by hostile Indians, but the same individuals have been

industriously engaged in cultivating land and raising stock for the support of their families in other parts of the colony, where it was more safe for them to do so, and because the greater part of the citizens are poor, and for the most part have large families to support, and nothing for a dependence to enable them to do so, but their lands, we are of opinion, that all citizens that have removed to Texas, and taken the oath of allegiance to the Mexican Government, and supported the laws and constitution of the same, and have remained in the Government until this time, and have discharged their duty as good and faithful citizens, ought to have the titles of their lands confirmed, whereby they will be enabled to support their families, and discharge all duties to the government which the law makes it their duty to perform, with ease, and in order that the Government may be informed of the situation of the Citizens of this colony.

[p. 57] "It is ordered," that the President of this Ayunto. call upon the Empresario, Stephen F. Austin, for a list of the names of all citizens settled in his colony, which shall be laid before this Ayunto at their next regular meeting in order that the body may ascertain all such as have discharged their duty in manner and form as above stated." And it was further ordered that this Resolution be published in the Texas Gazette.

The Ayunto then adjourned until 2 P. M.

At 2 P. M. of the same day, the Ayunto met, according to adjournment—present as before mentioned.

It was ordered, that the valuation of the fifty acre out lots directed to be laid off near the town of Austin, by an order of this Ayunto at their last meeting, be paid at two Dollars each acre and that they shall not be sold for less than that price.

It was ordered—that all proprietors of town lots and out lots acquired under the administration of municipal affairs by Stephen F. Austin, under the obligation of improving or building on said lots or outlots within a certain period of time, be allowed a further delay of six months from the present date for the completion of the said improvements or buildings. And that the ordinance be published four times in the Texas Gazette.

It was ordered—that the Sum of Sixty Dollars be paid to F. Stack out of any monies belonging to the municipality, not other-

wise appropriated, in payment of a Bureau made by him for this Ayunto.

[p. 58] It was ordered—that the Sum of nineteen Dollars and one bit be paid to the Postmaster of this town by the President, as a subscription for the “*Registro oficial del Gobierno*,” for the remainder of the present year, and that this ordinance be notified to the Chief of Department.

It was ordered—that from and after the first day of June next no stud horse shall be allowed to run at large, and that if the owner of any such horse shall fail to confine that same, on notice being given to him once by any individual, it shall be lawful for any person, assisted by two inhabitants of the colony, to alter the said horse, at the expense of the owner. Provided however that this ordinance shall not extend to such stud horses as are kept with *menadas*, nor to any stud horse when actually on the land belonging to the owner of said horse. And that from and after the tenth day of May, 1830—no *cavaillada*, *mulada*, nor *menada* shall be herded within five miles of the town of Austin for a longer period than twenty-four hours, under penalty of a fine of ten Dollars per day to be recovered from the owner of said *cavaillada*, *mulada* or *menada*.

The Ayuntamiento then adjourned until the next regular meeting.

Thos. Barnett

Prest.

[p. 60] In the town of San Felipe de Austin on the 15th May 1830. Agreeably to an order of the Ayuntamiento of this Municipality and a public notice given in the Texas Gazette, I Thos: Barnett constituc. Alcalde of said jurisdiction have sold the following town and out lots, viz:

Town Lots No.	4.	5.	6.	sold to	Phineas Jones @ 15\$....	\$ 45.—
“	“	“	74	“	D. Gregg	“15.—
“	“	“	73	“	Charles Smith	“25.—
Out lot.	“	31	“	“	Moses Rousseau[u]	“30.—
Town Lot	“	85, 114	“	“	Thos. J. Gazley.....	“30 —
“	“	76, 77	“	“	Dudley J. White @ \$19.	“38 —
“	“	142, 143, 144	“	“	Robert M. Williamson...	“33 —
Out lot	“	53	“	“	Charles Smith	200 —

Out lot No. 54 sold to John Pettus.....	30—
“ “ “ 27 “ “ Lucas Lesassier	30—
“ “ “ 52 “ “ James B. Miller.....	110—

Total sum.....\$586.

The conditions of the above sale were, that the purchasers will execute their notes with approved security for the payment of the amt of lots bought at the expiration of six months, and on the further condition of building a house on a town lot, and improving the outlot within one year under pain of forfeiting the lots for the non compliance of either of the above Conditions.

Thos. Barnett

Alcalde

[p. 61] Special meeting of the Ayunto. 26 May 1830—Present Thomas Barnett Alcalde, H. H. League, W. C. White, Regidores, and Wm. Pettus, Syndico Procurador—It was resolved, that whereas the necessary investigation being made according to Law No 37 Art 122—it appears that a certain Charles Smith is at this time leading a vagabond life in the Town of Austin, without any occupation, business or income, and whereas the said Smith is a general disturber of the public peace, and a gambler by profession, and whereas there is no regular Jail in this Municipality, Therefore it is ordered that the said Smith be put in close confinement, in irons until the next meeting of this Ayunto. and that the alcalde be authorized to have said Smith attended and fed by a proper person at the expense of the municipality, and to make report of his proceedings herein at the next meeting, and that all other proceedings relative to the said Smith be deferred until that time.

On report made by the Alcalde, and from evidence adduced before the body, it appearing that John Montgomery has shown disrespect to the civil authority and that said Montgomery is a vagabond within the meaning of the laws, a warrant was issued for his apprehension, and [p. 62] on his being brought before the Ayuntamiento, and the said charges being established, and it appearing that the said Montgomery is not a Citizen of this Municipality, it was resolved that the said Montgomery has laid himself

liable to the punishment denounced by law against vagrants, but that the execution of said punishment shall be suspended, on condition that the said Montgomery do immediately and without any delay depart from this Municipality.

The Ayuntamiento adjourned.

Thos. Barnett

Prest

[p. 63] Special meeting of the Ayuntamiento 4 June 1830—Present Thos Barnett, Alcalde, H. H. League and W. C. White, Regidores, and Wm. Pettus Syndico Procurador—Resolved, that a committee be appointed to draw up a subscription paper and present it to the Citizens of this Jurisdiction, to raise money for the purpose of erecting suitable buildings for the reception of the Priest appointed for this place, and to contract for and superintend the erection of said buildings, and to provide for the necessary expenses of the said Priest on his removal from Goliad to this place, and for his suitable reception on his arrival here. Resolved that Messrs. S. F. Austin, Walter C. White, James White-side and Luke Lesassier be appointed as said committee—

Resolved that said Committee be authorized to receive and appropriate such monies as may be subscribed.

Thos Barnett

Prest²³

In the town of San Felipe de Austin on the 5th day of July in the Year of 1830. The Ayuntamiento met in regular meeting. Present: Thos. Barnett Presidt Walter C. White, H. H. League, Jesse Cartwright and Churchill Fulcher Regidores. William Pettus Sindico Procurador. The minutes of the last session were read and approved A letter was read from John G. Holtham, Secy of this Ayuntamiento tendering the resignation of said office to this Corporation, which letter was read, considered, and the said resignation admitted.

On motion of the Sindico Procurador it was ordered that Mr. Saml M. Williams be called on and to request him to act as Secy pro tempore which order was carried into effect, and sd Saml M. Williams officiated as such secy.

²³Volume 1 of the manuscript ends here.

A letter was read from the Empresario Stephen F. Austin, of this Jurisdiction, giving reasons to the Ayuntamiento for not having complied with their request in furnishing this body with a list of the names of grantees in the first colony established by him, and also a list of the town lots disposed of by him and his account with the Municipality. The Ayuntamiento taking into consideration the arduous and continued duties of the Empresario admitted the apology, requesting the President to inform the said Empresario that on account of the situation of the [p. 2] Municipal funds he be urged to furnish that body with the statement of affairs between him and the municipality at their next regular meeting in August next furnishing the said Empresario in conformity with his request certified copies of the Resolutions of the Ayuntamiento on the subject.

A petition was read from James Hope praying the privilege of the use of the margen of the creek in front of his lots Nos 41 and 42 on the Creek above town, which margen is now open as a Street, and after maturely deliberating on the Expediency of granting the prayer of the petitioner, unanimously agreed that the prayer of the Petitioner be granted and sd Hope permitted to use the street in front of his lots by enclosing it within the bounds of his lots, and have the sole and free use of the same, until public utility and convenience may require the same to be opened for public uses.

A Petition was presented by H. H. League, 1st Regidor praying for the establishment of a ferry across the Colorado River at the place known as Jennyngs Camp league, and praying to be authorized himself to establish the said ferry, and furnish him with the necessary instructions and regulations as in other cases of a similar nature in the Municipality. The Ayuntamiento ordered that the said League be permitted to establish the ferry there under the regulations which shall be furnished by the president of the Ayuntamiento and as it is probable that a road from Brazoria to La Baca in a rout from the former place to LaBahia and San Antonio will cross at some point [p. 3] on the league of land owned by said League, in which event the said ferry will be established at the crossing of said road.

In continuation the Ayuntamiento nominated and appointed James Kerr, John Brown, Thos. Cox, J. K. Long as Reviewers of the road from La Baca to the Colorado, and ordered that as H. H. League has proposed and is authorized to establish a ferry on the league

of land known as Jennings Camp league, the said reviewers be instructed to report whether or not inconvenience will arise by the road crossing the Colorado at the point designated and if so to what extent the inconvenience may be and if not authorize them to run the road across the river at that place for the convenience of the ferry, leaving the reviewers the designation of the most proper point for the crossing of the road on the LaBaca on the most direct route to Victoria and Goliad.

H. H. League 1st Regidor and Churchill Fulchear 4th Regidor having informed this body that a temporary absence from this place is necessary.—the former on account of ill health and the latter some important business to transact. The Ayuntamto granted the absence required, notifying the said members that they will not permit an improper time to pass before they return to the discharge of their respective duties.

The Ayuntamto after taking into consideration the nature of the debt incurred by the Ayunto. in the year 1828 and also duly considering the circumstances under which the debt was contracted, and the peculiar [p. 4] necessity of creating for the Municipality a credit with the citizens, and a moral certainty of the liquidation of their just claims with the Ayuntamto as also the situation of the country have thought proper to order that the Amount of Four hundred and nine Dollars two bitts (\$409-2r) be and hereby is appropriated from out of any unappropriated funds of the Ayuntamto for the discharge of the debt created by the Ayuntamto in the year 1828 and the Presidt. of the Ayuntamto is hereby authorized to liquidate any and all just claims presented by discounting them with and by debts due to the Ayuntamto.

Ordered by the Ayuntamto that whereas the 110th article of law No. 37 obliges this Body not to permit Phisicians or Apothycaries to exercise their profession without a previous presentation of their diplomas and certificates from scientific authorities. And whereas it is a duty of the Ayuntamto to watch over the good order and tranquility of the Municipality, as also to remove every thing calculated to injure or prejudice the health of the inhabitants of the Municipality and considering the formation of a board of Physicians as very important to produce regularity as well as security and confidence towards the exercising the profession of medicine and its branches in its various branches, the Ayuntamto have thot

proper to nominate and appoint Robert Peebles, James B. Miller and F. F. Wells in conjunction with the Alcalde, and one of the Regidores and the Sindico Procurador, as a board of Physicians to examine the qualifications of those persons who may wish to [p. 5] practice, and issue to them the corresponding certificate of examination, to be presented to the Ayuntamiento provided the candidates be considered competent to practise, which certificate will serve as authority to the Ayuntamiento to issue the necessary license. Every person who shall practise or attempt to practise medicine or surgery in any of its various branches without having first underwent an examination as provided for in this order, and received permission so to do, shall be liable to a fine of fifty Dollars for every offence.

Ordered by the Ayuntamiento that no person shall be permitted to shoot, fire, or discharge any loaded gun, rifle, or pistol or any other description of fire arms, within 400 yards of the improved part of this town under a penalty of not less than five nor more than ten Dollars. Provided always this order shall not impide, the discharging the cannon or piece of ordnanse lying in this town, on days of solemn festival provided also that permission shall be obtained from the Alcalde or him who exercises his functions for the discharging of the cannon loaded with powder on public holydays.

Ordered by the Ayuntamiento that whereas the construction of sheads, chantees [shanties], cabins, or houses on the streets or public squares of the town of Austin is a public nuisance, the owner or owners, occupants, agents and propriators of all such existing are hereby ordered to remove them within ten days from the publication of this order under the penalty of a fine from four bitts to fifty dollars, and besides the [p. 6] penalty of one Dollar pr. day for every day after the completion of the term aforesaid, that such building shall be found remaining on the square or squares, street or streets of this town, which fine and daily tax shall be collected by the alcalde of this jurisdiction, and any person who shall after the publication of this order build or construct or erect any building on any of the square or squares of this town, shall be fined in a sum not exceeding fifty dollars, to be collected as afore said and applied to the benefit of public funds.

Ordered by the Ayuntamiento, that whereas a number of town

and outlots were sold on the 15th day of Dec. last, by the Ayuntamiento which were to have been paid for on the 15th day of June last, and which payments were not made in conformity with the terms of sale,—Therefore notice is hereby given, to all persons, who on the day of the sale before mentioned purchased lots and have not complied with the terms of payment: that all such lots shall on the 31st day of this month, be exposed at public sale and sold for cash on account of and for the benefit of the former purchasers: and the Alcalde of this jurisdiction is hereby, authorized to collect by regular process from all such persons, any amount of difference, which may exist between the sale of the lots on the day appointed, and the amount at which they purchased the lots on the said 16th of December and all overplus, or excess which shall be paid to them. The sale to be conducted by the President of the Ayuntamiento.

[p. 7] Ordered by the Ayuntamiento that whereas the vice of habitual drunkardness is prejudicial to the good order, and tranquility of this municipality: Notice is hereby given that in future the laws on that subject will be rigidly enforced against all offenders, by the Ayuntamiento of this jurisdiction.

Whereas by the 7th provisions of the 28th article of the Municipal ordinances²⁴ it is the duty of the Ayuntamiento to appoint municipal surveyors and regulate their duties and emoluments, and whereas under that provision a surveyor has been appointed: Therefore it is hereby ordered and provided that the said surveyor in the discharge of his duties shall be governed by the following regulations: 1st It shall be the duty of the municipal surveyor or surveyors when more than one exists to repair to the place furnished and equipped to survey any trackt of land which may require surveying. 2d It shall be the duty of the surveyor to make permanent corners and blaze and mark the lines where they pass thro the timber, and when a line shall runn 3,000 varas, in the open prairie, two mounds of earth shall be raized on the same at a distance which shall be at least 1,500 yards apart. *Provided always* that this duty shall not be requisite when permanent mounds of earth are raised for corners. All corners in the prairie shall be of mounds of earth at least 2 feet high and 3 feet across

²⁴See THE QUARTERLY, XXI, 317.

at the base. Every corner in or near the timber shall have at least two noted and marked bearing trees. [p. 8] 3d. The Surveyor shall furnish the individual who purchases the land with a plot of it, and also one other plot to be filed with the deed.

4. The surveyor shall receive for his services four dollars for each lineal Mexican mile of running that he does. 5th The surveyor shall be entitled to receive one Dollar from each individual from whom he shews and establishes the corners of each town lot.

Ordered by the Ayuntamiento that the account presented by George Robinson be admitted for seventeen Dollars and twenty five cents, and credit for that amount be allowed him.

Ordered that, the President of the Ayuntamiento be authorized to settle and regulate the account of Thomas Gazley former Secy to this body.

Ordered: that whereas the office of comisario of Police for the district of Gonzales has been vacated by the death of Fielding Porter the former incumbent. An Election shall be held in the town of Gonzales on the 20th day of this month for the election of a Comisario of Police for the said district, to serve out the remaining of the term to the 1st of Jany. next and for which purpose Abraham McClure shall preside the Election, the Tellers and Secretaries being elected by the citizens in conformity to the Laws, returns of the said election shall be forwarded by the president of the election to the Alcalde of this Jurisdiction, and the said President is hereby authorized to administer to the individual who may be elected the proper oath on entering [p. 9] into the discharge of his duties. The President of the Ayunto shall issue the necessary instructions for the completion of said election.

Ordered: that the President be authorized to contract and make provision for the security of the criminal now under imprisonment, in order to provide for his secure keeping until the Laws and authorities decide on the case, pledging the faith of the Ayuntamiento for the payment of the Expence of keeping the prisoner.

And there being nothing further before this Body at this time, the session was adjourned until the 19th of the present month at which time there will be an extraordinary session of the Ayuntamiento—*Approved.*

Samuel M. Williams

Srio Into [Secretary pro tem.]

Thos. Barnett

Prest

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702: The Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola. By William Edward Dunn (University of Texas Bulletin No. 1705. Studies in History No. 1), Austin, 1917.

Few if any more substantial contributions than this have been made in recent years to the history of Colonial North America. To fully appreciate its significance one should not only read the author's excellent Preface, but should also understand its relation to the development of the field which it covers. Dr. Dunn's book represents a distinct stage in the historiography of his subject. It may be regarded as a ripened product of the renaissance in early Texas history which began with Garrison some twenty years ago and has engaged the attention of McCaleb, Casís, Barker, Cox, Clark, West, Hackett, Hughes, Buckley, Austin, Rather, and others whose names are scattered through the twenty volumes of *THE QUARTERLY* of the Texas State Historical Association. Dr. Dunn has had the good fortune and the ability to reap where many have sown.

The work of this pioneer group consisted of two distinct tasks. In the first place, they gathered at the University of Texas, chiefly from the archives of Mexico, a large body of basic and erstwhile unknown materials for the field. In the gathering process Dr. Dunn himself, while still a young student, played an intimate and important part. In the second place, episode by episode, incident by incident, these workers digested the new material, until the chief blocks for the building of an historical structure were shaped, rough hewn though they were in some cases. For the period covered by Dr. Dunn, Clark's *Beginnings of Texas* has been the most substantial written result of these earlier efforts, and in some respects it has not yet been superseded.

With the field thus outlined, with this large body of material assembled as a basis, and with the accumulated experience acquired by himself and others in archives, Dr. Dunn assumed a new and double task. The archives of Mexico had been pretty thoroughly combed, but those of Spain had been very little util-

ized for the subject. Dr. Dunn repaired to them, and with admirable skill and energy in sixteen months made a comprehensive gathering of the rich materials which they contain. These documents supplement in important ways those formerly assembled, particularly since the Spanish archives contain the proceedings of the Council of the Indies, which reveal the larger relations of episodes which the Mexican and provincial archives often present as local problems.

Dr. Dunn's feat of gathering alone has been one of the noteworthy recent achievements in Southwestern history. But it is only half of his work. With all this large body of data old and new, and with a larger outlook than those who had gone before. Dr. Dunn proceeded to analyze *de novo* his entire fund of archive material. He has assembled the scattered episodes, turned fresh light upon them, given them new interpretation here and there, and woven them into a more symmetrical and comprehensive whole.

The scope of his book can best be gleaned from its table of contents. In eight chapters he treats "Early Phases, 1678-1685"; "La Salle's Colony, 1685-1686"; "Spanish Diplomacy in England, 1686"; "The Spanish Search for La Salle's Colony, 1686-1687"; "The Outcome of the Search, 1687-1689"; "The First Defensive Move of Spain: The Founding of Missions among the 'Texas' Indians, 1689-1694"; "The Second Defensive Move of Spain: The Occupation of Pensacola Bay, 1689-1698"; "The French Colonization of Louisiana, and the Impotence of Spain, 1698-1702."

Dr. Dunn's most important general contribution has been to show more fully and clearly than has been done before that the first occupation of Texas was but an incident in the international contest for the control of the entire Gulf area, more particularly of the northern Gulf coast from the Florida Peninsula westward, and that while the Spanish occupation of Pensacola was another incident in the same series, it occurred in 1698 and as a proximate result of the second French menace, rather than in 1696 and as a direct result of the La Salle incident, as some writers (Morfi, for example) have assumed.

Lesser contributions are numerous throughout the book. The author gives a fuller statement than his predecessors of Echagaray's

colonizing projects, makes known the correct date and clears up the circumstances under which the Spanish authorities first learned of the La Salle expedition; and sets forth the genesis of the larger plans for the search for the French. Chapter III is a valuable contribution to the general history of European diplomacy, and serves to reveal the importance in colonial days, usually overlooked, of affairs on the remote American frontiers in the shaping of European history.

In Chapters IV and V Dr. Dunn gives a more comprehensive statement than hitherto has been made of the different expeditions sent out by sea and land to discover La Salle's whereabouts. Notable in his account are the story of the little known Delgado expedition from Florida, and of the altogether unknown (I fancy) expedition of Retana from Chihuahua, instigated by the famous Indian Sabeata. In the chapter on the first occupation of Eastern Texas the chief contributions are the clear account of the little known relief expedition led by Gregorio de Salinas, and of the exact circumstances under which the remote mission was abandoned in the fall of 1693. Chapters VII and VIII contain a full and authoritative statement of the events leading to the occupation of Pensacola, and of Spain's impotence to eject the French intruders and her consequent acquiescence in the French occupation of Biloxi and Mobile Bay.

Not only on these unknown or imperfectly known episodes, but likewise on most of the well known episodes, Dr. Dunn adds a rich contribution of interesting facts drawn from new sources. The book is well written, has the necessary apparatus of professional scholarship, and, though a detailed monograph, possesses human interest. Dr. Dunn has proved himself a master of Spanish archives, highly competent to assemble materials, interpret them independently, and set forth the results. He has established himself as a leader in his chosen field.

If the reviewer's digestion were bad, if he had a grudge against the author, or if he felt it necessary to make this review an occasion to display his own knowledge, he might proceed now to pick flaws. But he has none of the afflictions, and he therefore refrains.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

Platforms of Political Parties in Texas. By Ernest William Winkler. Bulletin of the University of Texas, 1916, No. 53. Pp. 700.

This stout volume, perhaps the largest bulletin yet issued by the University of Texas, is the most valuable collection of Texas historical source material that has appeared in recent years. Not only are the materials it contains absolutely essential to any one who would write the history of the political parties, but they are almost equally valuable to the man who would prepare himself thoroughly for participation in the public affairs of the State. The volume is a great mine of information concerning the problems of State and nation with which our fathers had to deal, and it will undoubtedly prove a most useful handbook alike for future platform makers and for students of the State's political history.

The aim of the author and some of the difficulties encountered are set forth in the following paragraph taken from the author's modest prefatory note:

"This collection of platforms of the political parties of Texas aims at completeness. It is the first attempt to collect them. Newspaper files have been drawn upon almost exclusively for the data presented. The files of newspapers prior to 1880, available for this work, were very incomplete. The conventions of the minor parties are given only brief space in the daily papers; their proceedings are correspondingly more difficult to locate. In some instances, they have perhaps been passed over without any notice at all. The lists of candidates are usually those nominated by the conventions; many changes occur between the date of the convention and the election, but it has been impossible to follow them up. The same is true of the personnel of the State executive committees. Great care has been used to have all names correct, but the opportunities for error are so great that doubtless many escaped correction." (P. 3.)

The contents of the book fall into three parts. The first part is a carefully prepared account of the origin of political parties in Texas; the second, and much the largest part of the volume, consists of the texts of the political platforms; while the third part, the appendix, contains much valuable statistical material concerning elections in this State.

In the first part of the book, the author appears, not as a mere collector of source material, but as an historiographer, weaving his materials into an interesting account of the early attempts to organize political parties in Texas. From this account it appears that there were no regularly organized political parties during the period of the Republic of Texas. However, the mass of the people fell into two political groups, one strongly attached to General Sam Houston and his policies, while the other group supported the policies of Lamar and Burnet.

A very good view of these personal factions is presented in the following editorial quoted from the *Red-Lander* of July 13, 1844, a paper supporting the Houston faction, published at San Augustine in the eastern part of the State:

"Anson Jones' claims are advocated by the party which supports the policy and principles of the present administration, and which he stands in some considerable degree pledged to carry out on account of his being one of the constitutional advisers of President Houston. General Burleson is the other candidate, who has identified himself with the Lamar and Burnet party in their continual opposition to every leading measure of the present administration by his votes which he has given while he was senator from Bastrop county and since while he has been presiding over that body as vice-president. The friends of General Burleson cannot disguise the fact that he is in strong alliance with the latter party and that this is the party which put him in nomination for the presidency and which is sustaining him in the canvass. They also cannot deny the fact that ever since the organization of the government there has been a strong party opposition to General Houston's measures, notwithstanding they say that the lines of party distinction have not been drawn in Texas. Every citizen who is familiar with the political condition of the country from its organization to the present time will sustain us in the assertion that there have been two distinct parties which have their political tenets and creeds as clearly defined as the present Whig and Democratic parties in the United States. . . . The party which supports General Burleson have even carried their political clamors so far that they have created a strong national prejudice in the *West* against the *East*, and every measure almost of a general character (such, for instance, as the census bill of the last

Congress) which was proposed by the Eastern members of Congress has been voted down by this Western faction." (Pp. 12-13.)

The extreme bitterness of the factions is seen in the statement from the *Telegraph and Register*, published at Houston, that "the party spirit in the United States is tame and mild compared to the bitter, malignant, demoniac zeal which is displayed in many instances by the partizans of some of our candidates. They will resort to lies, to misrepresentations, to low, mean, groveling tricks that the most bigoted Whigs of our motherland would spurn as disgraceful and degrading to their party." (Pp. 14-15.)

There was one question, that of annexation, over which there was no division of opinion in the young Republic, and the action of Polk and the Democratic party in the United States in championing that cause drew into the ranks of that party a large majority of the people of the new State. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the Democrats carrying the State in the presidential election of 1848 by a vote of two to one over their Whig opponents. In fact, the only surprising thing about that election was that the Whigs were able to muster 4,500 votes for Zachary Taylor out of a total of 15,000.

During the forties and early fifties, several State Democratic conventions were held, composed largely of members of the Legislature and a few scattering delegates from some of the counties, but no effective State and county organization was perfected until the dominant party received a scare at the hands of the Know-Nothing party in 1855. The effects of this episode on the Democratic party is told by the following paragraphs taken from the author's account:

"The one element requisite to crystalize Democratic thought and action—an aggressive opposition of considerable strength—was quite unexpectedly introduced shortly after the adjournment of the convention of 1855. During the latter part of 1854 brief notices of the organization of Know-Nothing councils appeared in the newspapers from time to time. General Houston was in high favor with this organization. The aims and purposes of the order were shrouded in mystery. Its political activity was carefully concealed. But in March, 1855, a Know-Nothing was elected mayor of Galveston over the Democratic nominee. On June 11, 1855, the Grand Council met at Washington on the

Brazos, and secretly nominated candidates for State and Congressional offices. Lieutenant-Governor Dickson was their nominee for governor.

"When the Democrats learned what had happened there was surprise and chagrin. Many Democrats had unsuspectingly joined the Know-Nothing councils, and most of the Democratic newspapers carried Dickson's name at the head of their columns. A meeting of Democrats, the 'Bomb-shell' convention, was held at Austin, June 16, which declared war on the Know-Nothings. Fortunately the Democrats were never before in a better position to enter such a contest. Governor Pease had made an excellent record during his first term, and in John Marshall, editor of the *State Gazette*, the party had a leader and spokesman, whose name will always be linked with the early history of the party in this State. Marshall was an experienced newspaper man before coming to Texas, in July, 1854. The *Southern Argus* (Columbus, Miss.) characterized him as follows: 'He is a good tactician; a man of great sagacity, forethought, and judgment, possessing in short all the qualifications which ought to be possessed by the man who controls the organ of the State party. We congratulate the Democracy of Texas in securing the services of Colonel Marshall.' . . . (P. 37.)

"The Know-Nothings captured a good many local offices, a number of places in the Legislature, and the congressman in the Eastern District. The Democrats were thoroughly aroused; for instance, those of McLennan county adopted the following resolution, voicing the sentiment of many of their compatriots similarly situated:

"*Resolved*, that the apparent ascendancy of the Know-Nothing party in this county, as evinced in the returns of the last election, was owing to want of organization on the part of the Democratic party, and a thorough and complete *secret* organization of the opposition; that the Democratic party of this county are now thoroughly organized, "wide awake," and duly "sober"; that they will continue this organization and in future act in concert with the Democracy throughout the State; and we do hereby pledge ourselves that for the future McLennan county will speak her true sentiments.' . . . (P. 39.)

"During the session of the Legislature in January, 1856, both

the Democrats and Know-Nothings held their State conventions at Austin. Both parties nominated full tickets for State officers (the attorney-general, comptroller, and treasurer constituted the State ticket in 1856) and presidential electors, and appointed delegates to the National conventions. The Know-Nothing party did not hold another State convention in Texas. Fifty-four counties had delegates present at the Democratic State convention; by allowing members of the legislature to represent counties without delegates, the number of represented counties was increased to ninety-one, leaving only eight unrepresented. The position of the party was clearly stated. John Marshall was elected chairman of the State central committee, a position to which he was annually re-elected until the outbreak of the war. 'We can now date the thorough organization of the Democratic party of the State of Texas,' wrote the editor of the *State Gazette*. 'The convention held on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of January, [1856], was one of the largest ever held in Texas, and will compare for numbers, respectability, and talent with any convention we ever attended in our sister States.'

"In 1857, the State convention met at Waco, May 4, and for the first time nominated candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor. The two-thirds rule was adopted for making nominations, and adhered to for nearly fifty years. The election of Runnels over Houston, after another very exciting campaign, demonstrated the excellence of the party's organization." . . . (Pp. 40-41.)

The second part of the book contains, besides the texts of the political platforms, the names of the nominees, officers of the conventions, members of the various convention committees, and of the State central committees. The task of making accurate lists of these officers and committeemen from the fragmentary accounts contained in the meager newspaper accounts of the conventions involved an amount of work that might have staggered one of less persistence than the author.

Among the platforms contained in the volume, probably the most interesting at the present time, owing to our share in the great world war, is that of the mass meeting of the German Americans held in San Antonio on May 15, 1854, only a few years after many of them had fled to our shores to escape the oppression of

Prussian militarism which they had tried vainly to overthrow in 1848. They declare that "The Constitution of the United States is the best of those now in existence," though they demand its improvement by the direct election of the President and of the United States senators. They also declare for civil service reform, and for the recall by majority vote of representatives who have ceased to represent the views of their constituents. So far as the reviewer knows this is the earliest recognition in this country of the recall in its modern form.

But, perhaps the most interesting plank in the platform of our German fellow-citizens of 1854, is their declaration for the spread of republican doctrines throughout the world. "In order," said they, "that the United States may occupy the position in international affairs to which they are entitled and to give force to their influence in the growth of liberty; we demand the recognition and support through material aid of republican governments throughout the world. We also demand the adequate protection of American citizens abroad, and the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine." (For text of this platform in German, see pages 58-61.)

This sounds a good deal like a mid-nineteenth century demand that "the world be made safe for democracy." It is safe to say that few, if any, of the descendants of these refugees of '48 are to be found among those who are disloyal to this country in the present crisis.

The Appendix contains the vote for governor from the beginning of statehood until the present time. It also contains the vote cast for presidential electors since 1848. Other tables give the vote for governor in the Democratic primaries, the prohibition vote in 1887 and 1911, the vote for submission in the Democratic primaries, and the poll-tax payments since the poll-tax law became effective in Texas.

A thirty-page index of names and a carefully prepared subject index completes the volume, a volume for which all students of Texas history and politics are under lasting obligation to the author.

C. S. POTTS.

History of Montague County. By Mrs. W. R. Potter. (County Series Reader.) n. p., n. d. 191 pages, 12mo.

History and Reminiscences of Denton County. By Ed. F. Bates. Denton, 1918. 412 pages, 8vo. Ill.

The field of local history in Texas is rich, but it has thus far received indifferent attention. It is, therefore, with mingled pride and curiosity that the volumes listed above are welcomed. Each was prepared by a writer untrained in writing history, and each is a pioneer effort in their counties.

The author of the *History of Montague County* says, "It was the first purpose of the author . . . to write a history that would only be read in the homes of the county; but, after much deliberation, . . . it was decided to condense the work and put it in a form that could be studied as a supplementary reader in the public schools of this county." The result is not satisfactory as a county history, and the selections are ill-suited for a reader. Over half the book is devoted to stories of Indian atrocities (pp. 8-114), there is a brief description of pioneer life (pp. 118-127), brief sketches of the organization and development of Montague County (pp. 133-142, 163-173), and the remainder is extraneous material having very slight connection with county history.

The *History and Reminiscences of Denton County* owes its existence to the Old Settlers' Association of that county. In 1893 this association created a committee charged with the duty of preparing and publishing such a work. The committee was continued in 1914 and 1915. In 1916 the association placed the enterprise in the hands of its secretary, Mr. Ed. F. Bates, who had been a member of the history committee from the beginning. Mr. Bates is an old settler and brought to his task a sympathetic appreciation and extensive personal knowledge of the events recorded.

The greater portion of the book relates to the pioneer days—the twenty years preceding the Civil War. Long lists of early settlers, with illustrations of pioneer faces and scenes, will cause this volume to be treasured by those who helped to develop that prosperous section of the State, and the description of the life of the frontier is a permanent contribution to the history of Texas. The events of the Civil War and reconstruction periods receive

brief mention, and the period since 1875 has been touched in a few places only.

The reminiscences, which comprise almost one-third of the volume, were written within the last few years, but deal principally with the period of settlement. They constitute a valuable portion of the book. An interesting series of twenty letters, written by an anonymous writer in Denton county to a friend in Arkansas, from August 30, 1868, to May 1, 1870, is printed with the reminiscences.

Some defects of the book that, perhaps, should be mentioned are loose organization, some repetition, and the inclusion of some matters to the exclusion of others which to the reviewer appear more important. For example, Sam Bass receives almost as much space as John B. Denton. In the account of the North Texas State Normal and College of Industrial Arts the faculty and courses of 1917-1918 are included. On the other hand, no connected account of Peters' Colony is given; no account is given of the newspapers of Denton county, although it is evident that next to the old settlers their files were helpful in writing the history; and one can obtain from this volume no adequate picture of Denton county today—the result of all that is chronicled in this history.

E. W. WINKLER.

Annie Carter Lee.—In *History of Woman Suffrage*, II, 22, it is stated that Annie Carter Lee was banished from home by her father, General Robert E. Lee, on account of her adherence to the National cause. Annie Carter died of typhoid in North Carolina during 1862. Letters from General Lee written at the time of her death amply refute the statement in the *History of Woman Suffrage*, but Mr. James Callaway recently asked Miss Mary Curtis Lee for a statement of the facts, and in a letter, dated Richmond, April 20, 1918, she brands this statement as a fabrication and gives a full account of her sister's death. This letter is printed in the *Houston Post* of May 1 and June 16, 1918, and has probably appeared in the columns of many Southern papers.

NEWS ITEMS

At the last commencement, Columbia University awarded the first Loubat prize, of the value of one thousand dollars, to Dr. Clarence M. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, for his two volume work, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*. The second prize, of the value of four hundred dollars, was awarded to Dr. Herbert I. Priestley, of the University of California, for his book, *José de Gálvez: Visitor-General of New Spain, 1765-1771*. These prizes were awarded for the two best works printed and published in the English language, since July 1, 1913, on the geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, numismatics, or history of North America prior to the period of the American revolution.

At the recent commencement of the University of California, the degree of doctor of philosophy was conferred upon Owen C. Coy, secretary and archivist of the California Historical Survey Commission, and upon Andrew Love Neff, of Heber City, Utah. Dr. Coy's thesis is entitled: *The Settlement and Development of the Humboldt Bay Region, 1850-1875*; Dr. Neff's, *The Mormon Migration to Utah*. Both theses have been accepted for publication in the history series of the University of California.

In lieu of the two traveling fellowships which, prior to the war, were annually provided by the Native Sons of the Golden West, that organization, following the precedent established last year, has generously provided for four resident fellowships at the University of California, each of the value of seven hundred and fifty dollars. The fellows appointed for next year are: Joseph John Hill, Salt Lake City, Utah; Ralph Simpson Kuykendall, Santa Clara, California; Raymond Chambers, Fayette, Iowa; and Miss Doris Bepler, San Francisco.

Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of California, who for the past year has been engaged in editing, for the Carnegie Institution of Washington, the Bandelier collection of materials for the history of the Southwest, has been appointed professor of history and head of the history department at the University of New Mexico.

On June 6, at Donner Lake, near Truckee, California, the Donner monument was dedicated. This great and impressive bronze statue, standing near the summit of the Sierra Nevadas, typifies the spirit of the early frontier. The erection of this memorial is one of the features of the work of the Native Sons of the Golden West, a patriotic order composed of those born in California. In this they were assisted by the sister order, the Native Daughters, with a small appropriation from the State. The place chosen was the scene of the hardship and suffering of the ill-fated Donner party during the winter of 1846-47. This episode, so well known in California history, probably represents more than any other the indomitable courage of the pioneer. The dedication exercises were most impressive, addresses being made by Governor Stephens of California, Governor Emmet Boyle of Nevada, Dr. H. Morse Stephens, and Dr. Owen C. Coy, of the University of California, and others. Three of the survivors of the Donner party, as well as many of the descendants, were present.

Dr. William Battle Phillips died at his home in Houston, June 7, 1918. Dr. Phillips was director of the Texas Mineral Survey from 1901 to 1905 and the Bureau of Economic Geology from 1909 to 1914. He is the author of numerous publications dealing with the geology and mineral resources of Texas. A sketch of his life is printed in the *Galveston News*, June 16, 1918.

At a special term of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, at Houston, June 8, 1918, resolutions regarding the death of Judge Waller T. Burns and a portrait of him were presented to the court.

The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin, VI, No. 2 (February, 1918), prints nine letters to Stephen F. Austin, dated from 1822 to 1825, which "show the widespread interest in Austin's Colony in the United States, and the motives and difficulties of those who wished to emigrate." The May issue of the *Bulletin* consists of a text-book for Texas schools, by Professor Frederic Duncalf of the University of Texas, on the causes and progress of the Great War.

Some reminiscences regarding United States Revenue Cutter Service off the coast of Texas, by Mr. Ben. C. Stuart, are printed in the *Galveston News*, June 16, 1918.

Mrs. Kate Scurry Terrell, author of "The Runaway Scrape" and of "Terry's Texas Rangers" in *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, died in New Orleans, June 19. Brief sketches of her career appear in the *Houston Post* and the *Houston Chronicle* of June 20.

The *Houston Chronicle* of June 20 quotes from the *Waco Times-Herald* a brief note on the origin of the Texas Lone Star Flag.

AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Texas State Historical Association held its annual business meeting in Austin on April 22, and elected the following officers: Mrs. Adele B. Looscan of Houston, President; Dr. Alex Dienst of Temple, Major George W. Littlefield of Austin, Mr. R. C. Crane of Sweetwater, and Mr. Lewis R. Bryan of Houston, Vice-Presidents; Miss Adina de Zavala of San Antonio, Mrs. M. A. Hatcher and Professor E. T. Miller of Austin, members of the Executive Council; and Professor Chas. W. Ramsdell, Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer. A number of new members were elected to the Association.

Professor Chas. E. Chapman of the University of California, Professor Chas. H. Cunningham of the University of Texas, Mr. A. K. Christian now at the University of Pennsylvania, Miss Eleanor C. Buckley of Austin, and Mr. Philip C. Tucker 3rd of Vergennes, Vt., were elected fellows. Resolutions were adopted thanking Major Littlefield for his gift of the John H. Wrenn Library of Chicago to the University of Texas. This Library is very rich in rare editions of the English drama and contains much original material on English history during the Stuart period. Thanks were voted to Mr. Philip C. Tucker 3rd for valuable gifts of manuscripts and pamphlets on Texas history to the Association.

The Treasurer's report follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING FEBRUARY 28, 1918

Receipts

	1918	1917
Membership dues	\$1,197 65	\$ 978 95
Sale of QUARTERLY	148 50	128 07
Sale of reprints		3 50
Sale of binding		75
Interest	229 41	166 65
Life memberships	30 00	30 00
Loans paid in	700 00	650 00
Donations	650 00	.....
Miscellaneous	30 35	30
Total receipts	\$2,985 91	\$1,958 22

Disbursements

Printing QUARTERLY	\$1,063 40	\$ 791 43
Binding QUARTERLY	96 30	41 00
Clerical expenses	229 40	282 40
Postage	76 67	52 50
Stationery	38 05	26 37
Loans	1,000 00	760 03
Miscellaneous	24 72	59 23
Total disbursements	\$2,528 54	\$2,012 56

Balance on hand February 28, 1917—

In Austin National Bank	\$ 248 87
In American National Bank	5 00

	\$ 253 87	
Receipts	2,985 91	\$3,239 78
Total disbursements		2,528 54

Balance on hand February 28, 1918	\$ 711 24
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CHAS. W. RAMSDELL,

Treasurer.

The above is a correct statement of the receipts and disbursements as shown by the books kept by the Treasurer of the Association. The balance agrees with the balances at the Austin National Bank and the American National Bank of Austin on February 28, 1918.

H. Y. BENEDICT.

THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The management wishes to announce that the back volumes of THE QUARTERLY can be purchased and that a complete set is now available. The first four volumes have been reprinted, and will be sold at the following prices, on the installment plan, or for cash on delivery:

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\$5.50 per volume bound in half leather.

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ADDRESS

THE TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
AUSTIN, TEXAS.

A NEW BOOK ON THE

Early Mission Period of Texas History

SPANISH AND FRENCH RIVALRY IN THE GULF REGION OF THE
UNITED STATES, 1678-1702: THE BEGINNINGS OF
TEXAS AND PENSACOLA

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Instructor in Latin-American History in the University of Texas.

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THE FIRST EUROPEANS IN TEXAS, 1528-1536

I

HARBERT DAVENPORT AND JOSEPH K. WELLS

1. Introductory Statement

The story of the adventures of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, survivors from the expedition of Pamphilo de Narváez, which was shipwrecked on the coast of Texas in November, 1528, is a prologue to the History of Texas, rather than its first chapter. A hundred and fifty years elapsed before the Spaniards occupied Texas, and the men who eventually took Texas for Spain probably never heard of Cabeza de Vaca. Yet this story is not without practical importance. It affords us our only glimpse of prehistoric Texas and its aboriginal inhabitants. For more than six years these men lived the lives and spoke the language of the Texas Indians, and thus knew them more intimately than did later explorers. They were the first Europeans to set foot on the soil of Texas, and the first to cross the North American continent. Their story rivals "Robinson Crusoe" and the "Odyssey" for romantic interest, a fact, indeed, which has rather obscured the practical importance of their adventures.

Two contemporary accounts of their journey from Texas to Sinaloa are available. One of these is a relation written by Cabeza de Vaca alone, and published by him at Zamora in 1542. It is usually called his "Naufragios." This is well known to the gen-

eral reader in the translations of Buckingham Smith¹ and Bandelier.² The latter translation, in the "Trailmakers' Series," is used in this paper. In addition to this account Cabeza de Vaca, Andrés Dorantes, and Alonso del Castillo, the three Spaniards who survived the hardships of this remarkable journey, wrote an account of their adventures for the *Audiencia Real* at Santo Domingo, a paraphrase of which was incorporated by Captain Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdéz, the first official chronicler of the New World, in his *Historia General y Natural de los Indias*, and is found in the edition of that work published by the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, 1851-1855, in Tomo III, at pp. 582-618.³

The identification of the places mentioned in these narratives and the location of the route which these men traveled in making their way from the island of "Mal-Hado" on the Texas Coast to San Miguel de Culicán, in Sinaloa, Mexico, is a fascinating study, which has attracted a notable array of students. Among them are

¹*The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* (Washington, 1851). Second edition edited by John Gilmary Shea (New York, 1871); *The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, edited by F. W. Hodge, in *Spanish Explorations in Southern United States, 1528-1542*. New York, 1907.

²*The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and His Companions from Florida to the Pacific, 1528-1536. Translated from his own narrative by Fanny Bandelier. Edited, with an introduction, by Ad. F. Bandelier.* (New York, 1905.) "Trail Makers' Series." This translation is cited in these notes under the title "Cabeza de Vaca."

³Oviedo's account of the adventures of the survivors of the Narváez expedition ends with Chapter VI, on page 614, and was written apparently in 1540. At this point he states that his relation was taken from the letter which Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Andrés Dorantes, and Alonso del Castillo sent to the Audiencia Real of Santo Domingo, from the harbor of Havana, where they stopped in the year 1539 on their way to Castilla.

Chapter VII (pp. 614-618) was added some years later, after the publication of the first edition of Cabeza de Vaca's relation, and after Oviedo had had a personal interview with Cabeza de Vaca, in 1547, at the royal court in Madrid. The additional matter incorporated in Chapter VII is taken from Cabeza de Vaca's published relation and has to do principally with the habits and customs of the Indians. Oviedo accords Cabeza de Vaca a high reputation for truthfulness, but adds, "To a certain extent I hold the relation made by the three as better and more clear" than Cabeza de Vaca's personal relation, "But what Cabeza de Vaca adds is necessary, as not all could be told by people who had endured so many hardships, and who knew not where they had been."

With regard to the narratives themselves he adds: "In the first relation given me by the Royal Audiencia, which is contained in the preced-

Buckingham Smith,⁴ Ad. F. Bandelier,⁵ H. H. Bancroft,⁶ Miss Brownie Ponton and Bates H. McFarland,⁷ Judge Bethel Coopwood,⁸ Judge O. W. Williams,⁹ and James Newton Baskett,¹⁰ who brought to bear upon the subject a wide range of knowledge, energy, learning, industry, and faculty for research. That anything remains to be done to supplement and correlate the work of such scholars is due to the fact that none of them, except Judge Coopwood and Judge Williams, were familiar with the topography of the lands visited by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, while Judge Coopwood and Judge Williams were not acquainted with the Oviedo narrative, which states many details of topography and itinerary not found in the single relation by Cabeza de Vaca.

Since the publication of the results of the latest of these studies, that of Mr. Baskett, local and international developments have added greatly to our knowledge of the topography of the borderland between the United States and Mexico, the region through which Cabeza de Vaca and his companions journeyed; and the work of Dr. Herbert E. Bolton and his associates has added greatly to our knowledge of the Indian tribes of this region and of the

ing chapters, it appears that it came from the harbor of Havana, in the island of Cuba, and in the relation referred to in this chapter it appears that Cabeza de Vaca passed Havana and arrived at Lisbon on the 9th of August, 1537."

According to Cabeza de Vaca, Andrés Dorantes and himself left Mexico during Lent, in 1537, for Vera Cruz, to take ship for Spain, but after waiting fifteen days for favorable winds the ship on which they took passage began to fill with water. Cabeza de Vaca took passage on one of the ships which was in condition to sail, while Dorantes remained on the first one. The ship on which Cabeza de Vaca sailed reached Havana on May 4, 1537, and waited there until June 2 for two ships of the fleet which had dropped behind and returned. As a result of this mishap

⁴*The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* (Washington, 1851). Second edition (New York, 1871) edited by John Gilmory Shea.

⁵*Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States* (Cambridge, 1890); *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* (New York, 1905).

⁶*North Mexican States and Texas* (San Francisco, 1886). Vol. I.

⁷"Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca; a preliminary report on his wanderings in Texas," *THE QUARTERLY*, I, 166-186.

⁸"The Route of Cabeza de Vaca," *THE QUARTERLY*, III, 108-140, 177-288, 229-264, and IV, 1-32.

⁹"Route of Cabeza de Vaca in Texas," *THE QUARTERLY*, III, 54-64.

¹⁰"A Study of the Route of Cabeza de Vaca," *THE QUARTERLY*, X, 246-279, 308-340.

Texas Coast. The time, therefore, seems opportune to analyze the two original narratives, in the light of this fresh evidence.¹¹

2. *The Voyage in the Barges*

After a miserable journey of two hundred and eighty leagues in the wilds of Florida, Narváez and his men, having lost over forty of their original three hundred through sickness and hunger, besides others killed by Indians, built, on the northwestern coast of Florida, five rude barges, in which they embarked, September 22, 1528, with the purpose of making their way by sea to the Spanish settlements on the Pánuco river. In the barge of Narváez went forty-nine men, and the same number went in the barge commanded by the Comptroller, Alonso Enriquez, and the Commissary, Fray Juan Suárez. The third barge was commanded by Captains Alonso del Castillo and Andrés Dorantes, who had forty-eight men; the fourth was under the command of two captains named Tellez and Peñalosa, with forty-seven men, and the fifth contained forty-seven men commanded by Cabeza de Vaca and the Inspector, Alonso de Solís. The barges were "twenty-two elbows lengths," each, and, loaded, "rose only half a foot above the water," but were subsequently raised "two hands" with material

Andrés Dorantes remained in Mexico, and, in 1538, planned with the Viceroy, Mendoza, to head an expedition to the north. The negotiations were broken off. It follows, therefore, that if the letter to the Audiencia at Santo Domingo was sent from Havana in 1539, as stated by Oviedo, it was sent by Andrés Dorantes, and not by Cabeza de Vaca, or by Castillo, who also returned to Spain in 1537.

Oviedo's paraphrase of the joint letter is so close that Bandelier and Baskett both treat his account as the text of the letter. This is incorrect, but his account follows the letter so closely that we can say, from its evidence, that the letter was the work of Andrés Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca, and more largely of the former than of the latter. [For light on the subsequent career of Dorantes de Carranza, see the article by Beatrice Quijada Cornish, on "The Ancestry and Family of Juan de Oñate," in *Pacific Ocean in History*, p. 453, note 4.—H. E. B.]

¹¹When the text was written the writers had not examined Judge C. W. Raines' invaluable *Bibliography of Texas* (Austin, 1896), with its introductory essay dealing largely with the adventures of the survivors of the Narváez expedition, and were not aware that Judge Raines had made a study of this subject. An examination of his work, however, discloses that he anticipated every important conclusion of the present writers. See *Bibliography of Texas*, Introductory Essay, pp. IX-XIII, inclusive; topic "Cabeza de Vaca," p. 38; "Oviedo," p. 160; "Bancroft, Geo.," p. 20; "Bancroft, H. H.," p. 20; "Bandelier," p. 21. Judge Raines' work was apparently overlooked likewise by Bandelier, Ponton and Mc-

from some canoes which Cabeza de Vaca captured. The voyagers were so crowded that they were unable to stir.¹²

For thirty days, they navigated the shallow bays and inlets on the Florida Coast, then were storm bound, without water, for six days, on a small island. Five days after leaving this they found a "Promontory made by the Coast" at "The other end of which was a large river, where they took fresh water out of the sea, because the river emptied into it like a torrent." They went ashore on a small island, but, finding no firewood, agreed to go to the river, which was one league from there, behind the point. The current was so strong that it carried them away from the shore against all their efforts. The north wind, which blew off shore, freshened so much that it drove them to sea, without their being able to do anything against it. For two days they tried hard to reach the shore. On the third day, a little before sunrise, they saw many columns of smoke along the coast. They did not dare to land, for fear of Indians. During the night the barges were driven apart and out to sea. Three of the barges, those of Narváez, Cabeza de Vaca, and Captains Tellez and Peñalosa, came together again at night fall, far out at sea. Narváez had been informed by Pantoja, one of his captains, that if he did not land that day he could not land for six days, which would mean starvation. The three barges were rowed toward shore, but the men of Narváez, being the stronger, outdistanced the others. The remaining two barges traveled together for four days, on a daily ration of half a handful of raw maize per man, but at the end of four days were overtaken by a storm and separated. Near day-break of the second day thereafter, November 6, 1528, the barge of Cabeza de Vaca was hurled a horse's length out of the water upon an island, and its crew, starved, emaciated, and lying in the boat like dead, were aroused by the shock, crawled out on all fours, found rainwater and firewood, revived, and began to cheer up.

Farland, Coopwood, Baskett, and Judge Williams, all of whom might have avoided errors into which they fell had it been accessible to them, Judge Raines' comments above cited, comprise a sound and highly valuable contribution to the criticisms of the "Cabeza de Vaca" narratives.

¹²*The Journey of Cabeza de Vaca* (Bandelier translation, "Trail Makers' Series," hereinafter cited as "Cabeza de Vaca"), pp. 40-42; Oviedo, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, Tomo III, p. 588. (Hereinafter cited as "Oviedo.")

The barge commanded by Castillo and Dorantes had been cast ashore, a league and a half back, on the same island, the day before.¹³

3. *The Island of "Mal-Hado"*

The island upon which the two barges were stranded and which the castaways called "Mal-Hado," was five leagues long and a half league wide, and at the farthest was two leagues from the mainland.¹⁴ It was inhabited by two distinct tribes of Indians, speaking different tongues, the one called "Han," the other called "Capoque." On the mainland facing the island lived other Indians, called "De Charruco" from the woods in which they lived.¹⁵ These Indians were tall and well formed, and were very dexterous with their bows and arrows, which were their only weapons. They resided at Mal-Hado only from October to the end of February, subsisting on fish, which they caught in the canebrakes, in channels made of reeds and in canoes, and on roots, some larger and some smaller, which tasted like nuts, most of which, with much trouble, they took from the water with a sort of wooden hoe. These roots were like truffles. At the end of February the roots sprouted and were no longer edible. The Indians then went to other parts in search of food.¹⁶

These Indians lived in lodges made of matting and floored with oyster shells. The women did the hard work. The men went entirely naked, but the women covered parts of their bodies with "a kind of wool which grows on trees." The young girls dressed in deer skins. Hides were used to sleep in, but these were rare, being obtained only by chance. These Indians were very liberal with each other and of very good disposition. They had no maize, since they did not cultivate the soil. The land was very healthful, and temperate, except when the north wind blew in winter.¹⁷

More than eighty men landed on Mal-Hado from the two barges, but several, including the Inspector, were drowned in attempting to launch one of the barges to continue the journey by

¹³Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 42 to 61, inclusive. Oviedo, III, pp. 588-591.

¹⁴Cabeza de Vaca, p. 71.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 71-74, 123.

¹⁶Oviedo, III, pp. 591-592.

¹⁷Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 65-68; Oviedo, III, p. 592.

sea, and the others had suffered so much from hardship, cold, and exposure, that most of them soon died.¹⁸ Four of the strongest, all good swimmers, were sent forward with an Indian guide, in an attempt to make their way by land to the settlements at Pánuco, which were believed to be not far distant.¹⁹ Pestilence broke out amongst the Indians,²⁰ and before the end of the winter nearly half of the Indians of the island were dead, and only fifteen or sixteen of the Spaniards remained alive.²¹

Among these Indians it was the custom that the members of a family in which there had been a death should not work, but should depend upon friends and relatives for food.²² This custom, under the circumstances—including an unusually severe winter—resulted in much starvation and suffering.

About the end of February, 1529, the Indians who had Cabeza de Vaca left the island in canoes, and went over to the mainland, at a place where there were many bays, and where there were many oysters. Firewood was very scarce, mosquitoes numerous, and the drinking water very bad. They subsisted here upon oysters for three months, and then returned to the seashore to eat blackberries. Here Cabeza de Vaca became violently ill.²³ In the meantime the Indians who had Captains Castillo and Dorantes,

¹⁸Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 63-83; Oviedo, III, p. 592.

¹⁹"We also agreed that four men, who were the most able bodied, should go to Pánuco, which we believed to be nearby, and that if it was our Lord God's will to take them there, they should tell of our remaining on the Island and of our distress. One of them was a Portuguese, called Alvaro Fernandez, a carpenter and sailor; the second was Mendez; the third Figueroa, a native of Toledo; the fourth Astudillo, from Zafra. They were all good swimmers and took with them an Indian from the Island." (Cabeza de Vaca, p. 63.)

²⁰Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 62-63; Oviedo, III, p. 591.

²¹"A few days after these four Christians had left, the weather became so cold and tempestuous that the Indians could no longer pull roots, and the canebrakes in which they used to fish yielded nothing more. As the lodges afforded so little shelter people began to die, and five Christians quartered on the coast were driven to such an extremity that they ate each other up until but one remained, who being left alone, there was nobody to eat him. Their names are: Sierra, Diego Lopez, Corral, Palacios and Gonzalo Ruiz." (Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 63-64.)

²²Cabeza de Vaca, p. 67.

²³Cabeza de Vaca, p. 68; Oviedo, III, p. 591.

and who were of another tribe and language, had gone to another part of the mainland to eat oysters.²⁴

Returning to Mal-Hado about the first of April, Dorantes assembled the Spaniards who were able to travel, twelve in all, with the intention of making their way westward along the coast to the settlements at Pánuco.²⁵ Two of the party, the negro Estebanico and an Asturian priest, had gone for subsistence across an inlet (*ancón*) to an island backward from Mal-Hado, and were brought back to join the party by some Indians in a canoe. The Spaniards were then transported by the Indians across the inlet (*ancón*) between the island and the mainland "for some things which they gave them." Two Spaniards, Lope de Oviedo, and Hieronymo Alanis, were left at Mal-Hado, too ill to travel. The party was guided by the Indians to the place on the mainland where Cabeza de Vaca was, but he was too ill to see them, much less to travel.²⁶

From there [the Dorantes party] went two leagues to a great river, which was beginning to swell from floods and rains, and there they made rafts on which they crossed with great difficulty, because they had among them few swimmers. Thence they went three leagues to another river, which came with much power and volume, and with such fury, that fresh water drove with great moment into the sea. There they again made some rafts and crossed on them, and the first passed over very well, because it was favored; but the second was drawn out to sea, . . . and two men were drowned, and the raft was carried with the current to the sea, more than a league . . . though the wind was from the sea to the land. . . . From there they went forward three

²⁴Cabeza de Vaca, p. 71; Oviedo, III, p. 591.

²⁵Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 71-72-73; Oviedo, III, p. 591.

²⁶"After Dorantes and Castillo had come back to the Island they gathered together all the Christians, who had become somewhat scattered, and there were in all fourteen. I, as was told, was in another place on the mainland, whither my Indians had taken me, and where I suffered from such a severe illness that, although I might otherwise have entertained some hope for life, this was enough to take it away from me completely. When the Christians learned of it they gave an Indian the robe of marten we had taken from the Cacique, as stated, in order that he should guide them to where I was, to see me, and so twelve of them came, two of them having become so feeble that they did not dare to take them along.

"The names of those who came are: Alonso del Castillo, Andres Dorantes and Diego Dorantes, Valdivieso, Estrada, Tostado, Chaves, Gutierrez, an Asturian priest, Diego de Huelva, Estebanico, the negro, and Benitez.

or four leagues and arrived at another river, and there they found one of their five boats, which they recognized as the one in which had gone the Purser, Alonso Enriquez, and the Commissary, but learned nothing of what had become of its people. They went onward another five or six leagues to another great river, on which were two ranchos of Indians who fled. From the other side of this river Indians crossed to the Christians and recognized them because they had seen there the men of the boat of the Governor, and of the boat of Alonso Enriquez, and who assisted them across the river in a canoe.²⁷

4. Identification of Mal-Hado and the Four Rivers

The four rivers west of Mal-Hado were first identified by Miss Brownie Ponton and Bates H. McFarland, two students at the University of Texas.²⁸ These are Oyster Creek, the Brazos river, San Bernard river, and Caney Creek, in the order named. This identification is beyond dispute. At no other place west of the Mississippi—which is clearly accounted for in the narratives,—and north of the Rio Grande, can even one river be found flowing directly into the Gulf of Mexico. Add to this the facts that the four rivers named are found in the order of relative importance, and at substantially the same distances apart, as the rivers mentioned in the narratives, and that no such rivers can be found elsewhere on the true coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and the identification is positive and certain. As will appear later, this is confirmed by the fact that the four rivers are at the correct distances from Paso Cavallo (the “Río del Espíritu Santo” of the Cabeza de Vaca narratives) and from the Guadalupe river (the “River of Nuts”), both of which can be identified from the narrative by independent evidence.

Oyster Creek is an ancient channel of the Brazos, and for several leagues from the coast it is now a wide deep bayou, having exactly the width of the parallel main channel of the Brazos. It

And as they reached the mainland they found still another of our men named Francisco de Leon, and the thirteen went along the coast. After they had gone by the Indians with whom I was told me of it, and how Hieronimo de Alaniz and Lope de Oviedo, had been left on the Island.” (Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 72-73.)

²⁷Oviedo, III, p. 593.

²⁸THE QUARTERLY, I, 175 (Ponton and McFarland); X, 249-256-257 (Baskett).

is much such a channel as is Buffalo Bayou at Harrisburg. It has a considerable local watershed, and in time of flood flows with sufficient current to satisfy the requirements of the narratives. In Cabeza de Vaca's time it may also have carried a portion of the ordinary flood waters, or even of the normal flow, of the Brazos.²⁹ The Brazos, of course, is identified by the fact that its current carried one of the rafts more than a league out to sea. No other river flowing directly into the Gulf of Mexico, west of the Mississippi, and north of the Rio Grande, has such a current, even in flood time. The San Bernard is the third of the only four rivers which flow directly into the Gulf, west of the Mississippi and north of the Rio Grande; it is approximately at the distances stated in the narratives from the second and fourth rivers, and is, as the narrative implies, the smallest of these rivers. Although near both the Brazos and the Colorado, there is no evidence that the San Bernard was ever connected with either. It has an independent watershed.

The fourth river, which the narrative refers to as "*grande*," is the stream which we now call Caney Creek but which, in the first half of the sixteenth century, was probably the main channel of the Colorado.³⁰ It is commonly known, of course, that Caney Creek is an old bed of the Colorado. It diverges from the present channel of the Colorado near Wharton, and meanders to the Gulf through a typical river bottom, much like that of the Brazos and the Trinity. This bottom is in part densely wooded with oak and

²⁹This statement is made upon the authority of J. C. Tolman, C. E., of Houston, Texas, who has done much land surveying and other engineering work on Oyster Creek, and the lower Brazos.

³⁰Fulmore, in his *History and Geography of Texas as Told in County Names*, at page 275, article "Matagorda," says: "The most conspicuous geographical feature of this county is the dense cane brake through which flows 'Old Caney Creek,' an ancient bed of the Colorado river. Having its source within less than a mile of the Colorado river, the creek flows about seventy miles through the only considerable canebrakes in the State, with a width of bottom lands ranging from three to ten miles, in many places through an almost impenetrable growth of cane. Its general course is parallel with the present trend of the channel of the Colorado river, and the adjacent lands are the most fertile in the State."

D. E. E. Braman, a resident of Matagorda, in "Information About Texas" (J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1858), speaking of Matagorda county, says:

"Old Caney, the most important stream in an agricultural point of view, runs southeast and northwest through the county, and its dry bed

other slow growth trees. The soil bears evidence that it was washed from the hills of Texas through thousands of years. The present channel of the Lower Colorado is a shapeless gully, eroded from the prairie, fringed with a light growth of willows, sycamores, cottonwoods, and other trees of quick growth. Its margins have none of the usual characteristics of a Texas river bottom. The inference is strong, from the known facts, that the Colorado has flowed in its present channel but a few score years, and that Caney Creek was the main channel of the Colorado, when the Dorantes party crossed it in 1529.³¹

Another inference to be drawn from the narratives, in the light of the known geographical tendencies of this coast, is that Mal-Hado was not Galveston Island, as suggested by Miss Ponton and Mr. McFarland, and Mr. Baskett, but was San Luis Island, or rather San Luis Island combined with the peninsula between the Gulf of Mexico and Oyster Bay, east of the mouth of Oyster Creek.³² There are four apparent reasons why Galveston Island could not have been Mal-Hado. It is doubly too wide; three times too long; too far from the first of the four rivers; there are no woods opposite it on the mainland; and it has no island "backward" from it (toward Florida). Mr. Baskett suggests Pelican Island as this island "back of where they lost the boats," which shows that Mr. Baskett has no acquaintance with Pelican Island. None of these objections apply to San Luis Island, if we combine with it, as nature has often done, the Oyster Bay peninsula. The island thus formed is at the proper distance from the four rivers; it is wide enough and nearly long enough for Mal-Hado; Galveston Island

opens into the Colorado in Wharton county. From the immense alluvial deposits on each side, its present diminished waters and deep bed, it is supposed to have been the former main channel of the Colorado. It is several miles below the intersection with the Colorado before Caney contains any water; its banks never overflow from heavy rains, and it is very little else, above tide-water, than a large drain. It runs into the Gulf of Mexico, in the southwestern part of the county. It is also connected with Matagorda Bay by a canal, half a mile long, which is navigable for the largest lighters. The Caney alluvial deposit is in many places thirty feet deep, and its surface is covered with forests of gigantic oaks, elms, red cedar, and cane and wild peach brakes."

³¹*Cf.* the Spanish map showing the two mouths of the Colorado river in 1690, published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. II, opposite p. 173.—(EDITOR.) [H. E. B.]

³²THE QUARTERLY, I, 176-177-178; X, 248-249-250.

becomes the island "back of where they lost the boats," and the woods on the lower course of Oyster Creek, which approach nearer to the Gulf here than do the woods on any other part of the Texas Coast, become the woods on the mainland where the people called "de Charruco" lived. That Mal-Hado is now a peninsula and not an island is not surprising. The silt deposited by the four rivers naturally would be driven by tides and storms into the "pass" or *ancón*, between the island and the mainland and thus tend to close it. The same phenomenon has occurred in recent years at "Boca Chica" inlet, between Brazos Santiago Island and the mainland, near the mouth of the Rio Grande. This inlet, or "pass," was closed by storm in October, 1912, as it had occasionally been closed before, and has not since been reopened. Brazos Santiago therefore is now a peninsula, and not an island. Corpus Christi Pass, between Mustang Island and Padre Island, was similarly closed by the storm of August, 1915. A shallow pass between San Luis Island proper and the Oyster Bay peninsula has been opened and closed several times in the past century. It is not mentioned as an obstacle of travel by the narrative of the "Lively" expedition, in 1822,³³ but is referred to by implication in the survey of San Luis Island and the Oyster Bay peninsula when these were granted by the Mexican Government to Stephen F. Austin, in 1832.³⁴ Any one familiar with the natural tendencies of the Texas Coast,³⁵ attempting to identify Mal-Hado from the narratives, would, in view of its location immediately east of four large rivers flowing into the Gulf, expect to find it a peninsula and not an island.

³³*Ibid.*, III, 96.

³⁴The original title to these lands is among the archives of the General Land Office at Austin. The title bears date February 23, 1832, and the land granted is one league of land lying five or six leagues east of the mouth of the Brazos river, consisting of a peninsula bounded by the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and a shallow bay on the north, and a small island to the eastward. A "boom" town was established on this small island—San Luis—about 1840, the promoters of which fondly expected it to become the port and metropolis of Texas. This town has since entirely disappeared. See Allen's reminiscences, *THE QUARTERLY*, XVII, 291-292-302.

³⁵See Mrs. Adèle B. Looscan's paper, "The Old Fort at Velasco," *THE QUARTERLY*, I, 282, for evidence, as to the tendency and rate of change of the shore line near the mouth of the Brazos.

We can identify the four rivers, and this San Luis, or Oyster Bay, peninsula, is situated, with reference to these rivers just where Mal-Hado ought to be. It is now, artificially, again an island, extending west to Oyster Creek, by reason of a channel cut from its western extremity into Oyster Creek as a part of the Intercoastal Canal.

5. The "*Ancón del Espíritu Santo*" and other *Ancones*

The Dorantes party spent one night with the Indians, who assisted them to cross Caney Creek, and thence struggled forward along the coast, feeding only on seaweed and "shell fish which had little besides the shell."³⁶ Two of them died on the way from hunger, and exhaustion. At the end of four days they came to an *ancón* (inlet).

This *ancón* was broad, more than a league across, and made a point toward the Pánuco side which went out to sea a fourth of a league, with some large mounds of white sand, for which reason it must have been visible at a great distance in the sea; and for this reason they suspected that it must be the river "*Espíritu Sancto*."

. . . They were unable to find means to cross; but finally they found a broken canoe, and repaired it as best they could, and in two days . . . they crossed the *ancón* and followed their road, much exhausted from hunger . . . and came with much difficulty to a small *ancón* which was twelve leagues onward. This *ancón* had little width: it was not more than a river in breadth. . . . On the following day an Indian came to the other side, but though they called he would not come. He went away, but returned in the evening and brought with him . . . Figueroa . . . one of the four messengers . . . sent the winter before . . . to find a land of Christians.³⁷

Cabeza de Vaca's account of this journey of the Dorantes party, from Mal-Hado to the second *ancón*, as related to him by Dorantes and Castillo five and a half years later, is very brief; he says:

They told me that after leaving the Island of *Mal-Hado*, they met on the Coast the boat in which the Purser and the monks

³⁶Oviedo, III, p. 593.

³⁷*Ibid.*, III, 593-594.

were going adrift, and that crossing the rivers, of which there were four, all very large and very swift, the barges in which they crossed were swept out into the sea, where four of their number were drowned. Thus they went ahead until they had crossed the inlet (*ancón*), which they did by dint of great efforts. Fifteen leagues from there they met another of our parties, and when they reached there, already two of their companions had died in sixty leagues of travel. The survivors also were very near death. On the whole trip they ate nothing but crawfish and *Yerba Pedrera* (seaweed).³⁸

At this last cove (*ancón*) they said they saw Indians eating blackberries, who, upon perceiving the Christians, went away to another promontory. While seeking a way to cross the cove (*ancón*) an Indian and a Christian came towards them, and they recognized Figueroa, one of the four we had sent ahead from the island of *Mal-Ilado*, who there told them how he and his companions had gotten to that place, and two of their number and one Indian had died from cold and hunger, because they had come and remained in the worst weather known. He also said the Indians took him and Mendez.

While with them Mendez fled, going in the direction of Pánuco as best he might, but the Indians pursued and killed him. So as he (Figueroa) was with these same Indians he learned (from them) that with the *Mariames* Indians there was a Christian who had come over from the other side, and had met him with those called *Guevenes*; and that this Christian was Hernando de Esquivel from Badajoz, a companion of the Commissary. From Esquivel he learned how the Governor, the Purser and the others had ended.³⁹

The barge of Alonzo Enríquez was wrecked where the Dorantes party found it—at the mouth of the San Bernard river,—and as its people proceeded along the coast they were joined by Narváez, whose boat still kept the sea. Narváez landed his people also, because they were tired of the sea, but stayed in sight of them with the boat that he might help them across rivers and *ancones*.⁴⁰

³⁸Bandelier and Baskett have indulged in considerable speculation as to the identity of this *yerba pedrera*. Oviedo says it was very abundant on the coast, and that it was used in Spain in glass making. This suggests a plant rich in potash—hence seaweed. Father Parisot, in his *Reminiscences of a Texas Missionary* (San Antonio, 1899) records an instance of a negro, shipwrecked off Isle Dernier, on the coast of Louisiana, in 1885, who floated for nine days on a door, and kept himself alive by sucking seaweed.

³⁹Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 82-83.

⁴⁰Cabeza de Vaca, p. 84; Oviedo, III, p. 594.

And they arrived at the *ancón*, which, as said, they believed was the Espíritu Sancto. There the Governor crossed all the people to the other side, of the *ancón*, and he stayed in the boat and did not disembark. There remained with him only one pilot, . . . called Anton Perez . . . and a page . . . named Camp. And while there, after night fall, a very strong wind carried them to sea; and they knew nothing more of them . . . all the people . . . entered through certain lagoons and marshes . . . and inland . . . where all died that past winter from hunger and cold, and some of them ate the others. . . . He (Figueroa) knew nothing else to tell except that Esquivel moved about there, held by some Indians, and probably they could see him soon. But after a month, more or less, they knew that the Indians with whom he was . . . because he had left them, had searched for him and killed him.⁴¹

Cabeza de Vaca adds a few details from Figueroa's story:⁴²

The Governor did not land that night but remained on his barge with a pilot and a page who was sick. They had neither water nor anything to eat aboard, and at midnight a norther set in with such violence that it carried the barge out into the sea without anybody noticing it. They had for anchor only a stone, and never more did they hear of him. Thereupon the people who had remained on land proceeded along the coast, and being much impeded by water, built rafts with much trouble, with which they passed to the other side. Going ahead they reached a point of timber on the beach, where they found Indians, who, upon seeing them approach, placed their lodges in their canoes and crossed over to the other side of the coast, and the Christians, in view of the season and weather, since it was in the month of November, remained in this timber because they found water and firewood, some crawfish and other seafood, but from cold and hunger they began to die. . . . They perished one after another, the survivors slicing the dead for the meat. The last one to die was Sotomayer, and Esquivel cut him up and fed on his body until the first of March, when an Indian, of those who had taken to flight previously, came to look if they were dead, and took Esquivel along with him. . . . Figueroa spoke to Esquivel, learning from him what we have here told, and entreated him to go in his company toward Pánuco. But Esquivel refused, saying he had heard from the monks that Pánuco was in their rear, and so he remained, while Figueroa went back toward the coast where he formerly had been.

⁴¹Oviedo, III, p. 594.

⁴²Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 84-85-86.

After telling his tale, Figueroa was required by the Indians who held him to return across the *ancón*. Only two of the Dorantes party, the Asturian priest, and another, a young man, could swim. These accompanied Figueroa and his Indian under promise that the Indians would return with them, with some fish which the Indians said they had. The young man returned and brought a few fish to the seven other Christians, but the Indians would not permit Figueroa and the Asturian to return. Instead, they put their houses in their canoes and took these two with them, saying, "they were going from there for a certain leaf from which they make a certain beverage which they drink as hot as they can bear it," and that they would soon return.⁴³

On the morning of the day following their departure, two Indians came to the Dorantes party from across the narrow *ancón*. They were from a *ranch*o, and had been sent forward to arrange for eating blackberries, which are found in some parts of that coast. These were very good—sufficient food for the Indians while they lasted—and it was the practice of the Indians to move to them for some time. The Spaniards begged the two Indians to take them across the *ancón* in their canoe. They complied, and took them to their houses, which were near there, first relieving the Spaniards of part of the few possessions which remained to them. They gave the Spaniards some fish, and the following day moved and took the Spaniards with them. "In such manner that they could see nothing more of the other two Christians that the Indians had taken away."⁴⁴

Those Indians in whose company these few Christians were became tired of giving them food, and sent five of them forward to other Indians, who they said were on another Ancon six leagues forward. They went there, and three remained there much time. These were Alonso del Castillo, Pedro de Valdivieso, cousin of Andres Dorantes, and another named Diego de Huelva. Two went down more to the coast and died of hunger. . . . There remained in that ranch (of the Indians who took them across the narrow ancon), Andres Dorantes . . . and his cousin Diego Dorantes, and the negro, whom it appeared these Indians wanted for porters . . . for carrying firewood and water on their

⁴³Oviedo, III, pp. 594-595.

⁴⁴Oviedo, III, p. 595.

shoulders, and serving them like slaves. After three or four days the Indians drove them out in the same manner as the others. They wandered painfully for some days, without hope of assistance; and going thus through those marshes, naked because . . . the Indians had stripped them of their clothes, they (saw) the two dead Christians, who were of the five the Indians had driven out and dismissed. . . . From there they went on and met other Indians, and Andres Dorantes and his cousin remained with these, with whom the other three had stopped. And there came to seek them one of the others who was Valdivieso, *who was from the other side*. He told them how there had passed through there the other two Christians, swimmers (Figueroa and the Asturian) who had left them and who, in the same manner their Indians had stripped, left naked, and beaten, and taken their belongings, because they would not remain with them. And in this manner they (Figueroa and the Asturian) went, naked and ill-treated, having taken an oath not to stop until they died or arrived at a land of Christians. Andres Dorantes . . . saw in that village, the clothes of one of them, . . . the clergyman, and with them a breviary and a journal. Presently Valdivieso went back, and two days later they killed him, because he wanted to leave. A few days later they killed another. . . . Diego de Huelva, because he passed from one lodge to another. And there they took them (the three who remained) for slaves, and treated them more cruelly than a Moor could have done, because *on the other side*,⁴⁵ they had to walk about naked and barefooted . . . to and from all points through this coast . . . carry loads of firewood and water, and all the rest the Indians had need for . . . and drag the canoes through those shallows in that heat.⁴⁶

These people eat nothing in all the year but a little fish. . . . There is a great scarcity of fresh water. Because they like to go about amongst overflows and salt water, that which they have to drink is very little and bad and far away. . . . The Christians thus suffered the same thirst, while . . . carrying water on their backs, for the Indians, their masters, and for their

⁴⁵Mr. Baskett is evidently in error here in asserting that there is no evidence that Andrés Dorantes did not cross this farthest *ancón*. As he himself suggests, Valdivieso came from the "otra parte" of the *ancón*, and the implication is equally clear that it was on this "otra parte" that Andrés Dorantes and his surviving companions were treated so cruelly. Mr. Baskett is also in error in stating that Figueroa and the Asturian were killed two days beyond this place. They were afterwards seen by the Avavares Indians much further on, on the coast "of the figs." It was Valdivieso who was killed two days later, as stated in the text.

⁴⁶Oviedo, III, pp. 598-599.

neighbors, because all ordered them about; all caused them fear; and all treated them badly by word and deed. The boys pulled their beards every day by way of pastime . . . and scratched them in such manner that many times they brought blood, because they had long hard finger nails, which are the principal weapons or knives commonly used among them when they have no war, . . . and though they would not suffer such miseries they could do nothing else, . . . because they were surrounded by water, and all the places to which they went were small islands.⁴⁷

Among them (this badly disposed and bestial people) they remained fourteen months. . . . They came in the month of May, and stayed the next month of May (of the year 1530). About the middle of August Andres Dorantes was on the side most favorable toward enabling him to go, so he commended himself to God, and left in the middle of the day from among all of those Indians, whom God permitted not to see him. And that day he crossed a great water, and walked all he could, with much fear, and the next day met some Indians, who received him willingly, because they had noticed that the Christians served them well. Castillo and the Negro . . . could not go with him. After three months the negro followed him and they met, though they were not kept together. Castillo stayed, and spent another year and a half among that bad people, and then found an opportunity . . . to follow Dorantes. When he arrived he found the negro, but not Dorantes, because (Dorantes) could not bear these Indians, they were so bad, (and) had gone to others, more than twenty leagues back, who were on a river near the *Ancón del Espíritu Santo*, who . . . were those Indians who had killed Esquivel. . . . According to what these same Indians said, they had killed him because a woman had dreamed some nonsense. . . . Near there other Indians killed his cousin, Diego Dorantes, after two years that he served and was among them.⁴⁸

Cabeza de Vaca's single account of these adventures, in which he, personally, had no part, adds nothing to Dorantes' story, as told by Oviedo. Cabeza de Vaca says merely:⁴⁹

All this account Figueroa gave after Esquivel's narrative, and thus, from one to the other, it came to me. Through it the fate of the whole fleet will be learned and known, and what happened to every one in particular. And he said further that if the Christians would go about there for some time they might possibly meet Esquivel, because he knew that he had run away from the Indians

⁴⁷Oviedo, III, p. 599.

⁴⁸Oviedo, III, pp. 599-600.

⁴⁹Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 86-87-88.

with whom he was, and had gone to others called *Mariames*, who were their neighbors. . . . He (Figueroa) and the Asturian wished to go to other Indians further on, but when those with whom they were found it out, they beat them severely, undressed the Asturian, and pierced one of his arms with an arrow.

At last the Christians escaped through flight, and remained with the other Indians, whose slaves they agreed to become. But, although serving them, they were so ill-treated that no slaves, nor men in any condition of life, were ever so abused. Not content with cuffing and beating them, and pulling their beards for mere pastime, they killed three out of the six only because they went from one lodge to another. These were Diego Dorantes, Valdivieso, and Diego de Huelva. The three remaining ones expected to meet the same fate in the end.

To escape from that life Andres Dorantes fled to the *Mariames*, and they were the ones with whom Esquivel had been. They told him how Esquivel stayed with them, and how he fled because a woman dreamt he would kill her son, and the Indians pursued and killed him. They also showed Dorantes his sword, his rosary, his prayer book and other things of his.

We must now return to Cabeza de Vaca who had remained near Mal-Hado, too ill to travel. Omitting unimportant details, his own story of his adventures in the meantime is as follows:

I had to remain with those same Indians of the island for more than one year, and as they made me work so much and treated me so badly, I determined to flee and go to those who live in the woods on the mainland, and who are called those *de Charruco*.

I could no longer stand the life I was compelled to lead. Among many other troubles I had to pull the eatable roots out of the water, and from among the canes where they were buried in the ground, and from this my fingers had become so tender that the mere touch of a straw caused them to bleed. . . . This is why . . . I joined the other Indians. Among these I improved my condition a little by becoming a trader, doing the best in it I could, and they gave me food and treated me well. They entreated me to go about from one part to another to get the things they needed, as on account of constant warfare there is neither travel nor barter in the land. So, trading along with my wares, I penetrated inland as far as I cared to go, and along the coast as much as forty or fifty leagues. My stock consisted of sea shells and cockles and shells with which they cut a fruit which is like a bean, used by them for healing and in their dances and feasts . . . besides shell-beads and other objects. These things I carried inland, and in exchange brought back hides and

red ocher, with which they rub and dye their faces and hair; flint for arrow points, glue and hard canes wherewith to make them, and tassels made of the hair of deer, which they dye red. This trade suited me well, because it gave me liberty to go where I pleased; I was not bound to do anything, and no longer a slave. Wherever I went they treated me well, and gave me to eat for the sake of my wares. My principal object in doing it, however, was to find out in what manner I might get further away. I became well known among them; they rejoiced greatly when seeing me, and I would bring them what they needed, and those who did not know me, would desire to meet me for the sake of my fame.

. . . Nearly six years I spent thus in the country alone among them and naked, as they all were themselves.

The reason for remaining so long was that I wished to take with me a Christian called Lope de Oviedo, who still lingered on the island. The other companion, Alaniz, who remained with him after Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes and all the others had gone, soon died, and in order to get him (Oviedo) out of there, I went over to the island every year, entreating him to leave with me, and go, as well as we could, in search of Christians. But year after year he put it off to the year that was to follow. In the end I got him to come, took him away and carried him across the inlets (*ancones*) and through four rivers on the coast, since he could not swim. Thence we proceeded, together with several Indians to an inlet (*ancón*) one league wide, very deep everywhere, and which seemed to us from what we saw, to be the one called *del Espíritu Santo*.

On the opposite shore we saw Indians who had come to meet those in our company. They informed us that farther on there were three men like ourselves and told us their names. Upon being asked about the rest of the party, they answered that all had died from cold and hunger, and that the Indians beyond had killed Diego Dorantes, Valdivieso, and Diego de Huelva willfully, only because these had gone from one house to another, and their neighbors, with whom was now the Captain Dorantes, had, in consequence of some dream . . . killed Esquivel and Mendez also. . . . They told us also that if we wished to meet the three Christians about two days hence, the Indians would come to a place about a league from there on the shore of that river, to feed on nuts. . . . They put arrows to our chests every day, saying they would kill us in the same way as our other companions. And fearing this Lope de Oviedo, my companion, said he preferred to go back with some women of the Indians in whose company we had forded the cove (*ancón*), and who had remained behind, I insisted he should not go and did all I could to prevail upon

him to remain, but it was in vain. He went back, and I remained among these Indians, who are named *Guevenes* whereas those with who he went away were called *Deaguanes*. Two days after Lope de Oviedo had gone, the Indians who kept Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes came to the very spot we had been told of to eat the nuts.⁵⁰

Oviedo's narrative supplies some interesting details concerning this portion of Cabeza de Vaca's adventures which are omitted in the later and longer relation. Oviedo says:⁵¹

The Treasurer stayed there where he was five years and a half, digging from morning till night, extracting the roots . . . and carrying each day a load or two of firewood over his shoulders and next his skin, without having any clothes on, but like a savage or an Indian. And thus he served the Indians in these said exercises, and in other ways which they commanded; carrying their houses and their belongings on his back. Every three or four days they moved, for such is their custom, and they have no convenient choice but to seek for roots, because of the great hunger which they have through all that land. . . . Seeing that the labor was so great and excessive this gentleman began to contract with them to bring from other parts the things which they needed, and thus engaged, entered sometimes into the interior, and went along by the coast forty leagues forward, and three times passed an *ancón*, which he said he believed, from certain signs, is that called *Espíritu Sancto*.

The second time he returned those forty leagues to bring a Christian who lived there, one of the two left there very feeble by Castillo and Dorantes, when they departed from the island, the other being dead; the last time he brought him, and carried him to the other side of said *Ancón del Espíritu Sancto*, ten leagues onward other Indians, who were at war with these with whom they

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 73-74-75-76-77-78-79.

⁵¹Oviedo, III, pp. 592-593. There is an obvious error in the original Oviedo here, corrected in the text, which requires explanation. Oviedo attributes Cabeza de Vaca's peddling experience, and his three journeys forward along the coast and across the *Ancón del Espíritu Santo*, to Andrés Dorantes. The error is obvious from the context, since it results in Dorantes returning three times to get a man whom "Dorantes and Castillo" had left at Mal-Hado, and finally in "Andrés Dorantes" escaping to where "Dorantes and Alonso Castillo were." Failure to detect this error was the cause of the "confusion" which Mr. Baskett notes at this point. Mr. Baskett's statements about Andrés Dorantes three journeys forward along the coast in search of food during the winter of 1528-29 were based upon Oviedo's mistake here.

It is easy to understand, from the narrative, how such a mistake

crossed the *Espíritu Santo*. These told them their names, and said they had killed three or four other Christians, and the rest were all dying there from cold and hunger, and those who remained alive were being very badly treated. . . . They put arrows to their hearts, and threatened to kill them, and from fear of this the other Christian returned to the other Indians, and left (Cabeza de Vaca) who could not detain him. From there, within two or three days more, he (Cabeza de Vaca) departed secretly, aided by two Indians, who took him to where Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo were.

6. Identification of the Ancones

Mr. Baskett⁵² first identified the "*Ancón del Espíritu Santo*, the two smaller *ancones* beyond it, and the "River of Nuts," where Cabeza de Vaca met Andrés Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo and the negro, after their five and a half years' separation. As suggested by Mr. Baskett, the narratives "comport so well with the topography of this region that the identification is irresistible."⁵³ Paso Cavallo is, of course, the "*Ancón del Espíritu Santo*."⁵⁴ Apparently this *ancón* has changed little since the first half of the sixteenth century. The width, the depth, "the point on the side toward Pánuco," and the large mounds of white sand all exist today, much as Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes saw them, and no other *ancón* between the Mississippi and the Rio Grande approximates this description. The narrow *ancón* twelve or fifteen leagues beyond, was, of course, Cedar Bayou, the inlet between Matagorda

occurred. The letter to the Audiencia, which Oviedo was following, was quite evidently the joint work of Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes. In the midst of Cabeza de Vaca's description of the Indian tribes at Mal-Hado, and of climatic and other conditions there, Andres Dorantes interjected an observation about having seen "hail and snow joined together" on one occasion. Cabeza de Vaca then resumed the thread of his narrative, but Oviedo, in paraphrasing, overlooked this, and continued as though Andrés Dorantes was still the speaker.

⁵²THE QUARTERLY, X, 257-258-259.

⁵³*Ibid.*, X, 250.

⁵⁴Judge James B. Wells of Brownsville, who was born on St. Joseph's Island, whose father was an officer in the Texas navy, and who has been familiar with Paso Cavallo and the coastal region from Caney Creek to the Rio Grande for half a century, identified the "*Río del Espíritu Santo*" of the narrative as Paso Cavallo, purely from the Bandelier translation of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, with its accompanying note from Oviedo, without having read or discussed any of the critical papers on the subject, and without being embarrassed by any preconceived impressions.

and St. Joseph Islands. The description in Oviedo is again unmistakable. The third *ancón*, placed by Oviedo indefinitely more than six leagues beyond the narrow *ancón*, could only have been Aransas Pass. The region beyond, where Valdivieso and Diego de Huelva were killed; where Dorantes, Castillo and the negro remained so long "entirely surrounded by water" as slaves of the cruel Indians who fed only on fish, and who only went to small islands; and from which Dorantes escaped across the "great water," was Mustang Island, and the "great water" was Corpus Christi Bay. Likewise there is no escape from the deduction that the "River of Nuts," where Cabeza de Vaca met the survivors of the Dorantes party, and at which Dorantes arrived by traveling twenty leagues back toward Mal-Hado from the region of the "great water," and at which Cabeza de Vaca arrived by traveling ten leagues forward from the Ancón del Espíritu Santo was the Guadalupe River. Without using modern names, a clearer and more accurate description of the topography of this region cannot be written today, than can be obtained by combining the facts stated in the two ancient narratives. Mal-Hado, the four rivers on the coast, the Ancón del Espíritu Santo, the narrow *ancón*, the other *ancón* beyond, the little islands, and the "River of Nuts" are, as stated by Mr. Baskett, found here in the order and sequence mentioned in the narratives, and each at the approximate distance from the others that the narratives state or imply. The narratives also plainly indicate that the Dorantes party crossed the Ancón del Espíritu Santo from Matagorda Peninsula to Matagorda Island, while Cabeza de Vaca crossed to the mainland. Mr. Baskett's inference that the Dorantes party made their way along the seaward edge of Matagorda peninsula is likewise obvious. The beach on the Gulf side of the islands and peninsulas of the Texas Coast is a natural highway, and is usually the only feasible path between points on these coastal islands and peninsulas.

7. *The Indian Tribes From Mal-Hado to the River of Nuts*

Oviedo does not mention the names of the Indian tribes encountered; Cabeza de Vaca usually does. From his narrative we learn that, besides the tribes at Mal-Hado, called Han and Capoque, respectively, and the tribe who lived opposite them, in

the woods on the mainland, called de Charruco,⁵⁵ further along on the coast between Mal-Hado and the Ancón del Espíritu Santo, there was another tribe called variously Deguenes, Aguenes and Deaguanes;⁵⁶ and in front of them, inland, a tribe called De Mendica. "Further on" on the coast, across the Ancón del Espíritu Santo from the Deaguanes, was a kindred tribe called Guevenes, or Quevenes. These apparently spoke the same language as the Deaguanes but were much more savage and cruel.⁵⁷ These were the Indians who first enslaved the Dorantes party; who slew Diego Dorantes; who mistreated Figueroa and the Asturian, and who received Cabeza de Vaca and Lope de Oviedo so harshly that the latter turned back toward Mal-Hado with the women of the Deaguanes. Opposite these Quevenes, inland, lived the Mariames,⁵⁸ with whom Esquivel had been, and with whom Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, and the negro were living when Cabeza de Vaca came to join them. Ahead of the Quevenes, on the coast, beyond the farthest *ancón*, lived a still more cruel and savage tribe, called Guaycones.⁵⁹ It was from these Indians that Andrés Dorantes fled inland, across the "great water" after more than fourteen months' of slavery. In front of them, inland, lived the Iguaces or Yeguaces, friends and kinsmen of the Mariames, with whom they were closely associated.⁶⁰

The tribes who lived on the coast were all canoe Indians, who apparently spoke the same language,⁶¹ and who were larger than the Indians of the interior, although the latter were tall and well formed.⁶² Their habits and inclinations, as detailed in the narratives, justify the conclusion that these coast people were of Karankawan stock.⁶³ The coastal region between Galveston and

⁵⁵Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 72-74-123.

⁵⁶Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 79-123; Oviedo, III, pp. 592-593.

⁵⁷Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 79-83-120-123; Oviedo, III, pp. 592-593-594.

⁵⁸Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 79-82-83-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-95-96-123; Oviedo, III, pp. 594-600-601.

⁵⁹Cabeza de Vaca, p. 123; Oviedo, III, pp. 598-599.

⁶⁰Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 82-88-89-124; Oviedo, III, p. 600.

⁶¹Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 68-85; Oviedo, III, pp. 591-593-594-595-599.

⁶²Cabeza de Vaca, p. 89.

⁶³Writers like Brown, Kenney and Kuykendall, who knew these Indians first hand, or whose information was derived from those who knew them first hand, early in the nineteenth century, and Bolton and others who

Corpus Christi Bay was inhabited, when visited by the French, Spanish, and American pioneers in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, by six different tribes of Karankawan Indians: The Tups and Cocos east of the Brazos; the Cujanes between the Brazos and the Colorado; the Copanes and Guapites, west of Matagorda Bay and the Carancaguases on the coastal islands. These territorial assignments are only approximate, since these tribes were all nomads, and mingled freely with each other.⁶⁴ The Cocos, the least barbarous of the Karankawan Indians, have long been identified with Cabeza de Vaca's Capo-

"Bolton ("Founding of Mission Rosario," *THE QUARTERLY*, X) says that "It is difficult to assign definite territorial limits to the different tribes; yet in a general way the characteristic habitat of each can be designated with some certainty. The Carancaguases dwelt most commonly on the narrow fringe of islands extending along the coast to the east and west of Matagorda Bay; the Cocos on the mainland east of Matagorda Bay about the lower Colorado river; the Cujanes and Guapites on either side of the bay, particularly to the west of it; and the Copanes west of the mouth of the San Antonio river, about Copano Bay, to which the tribe has given its name." In the article on "Spanish Activities on the Lower Trinity" (*THE QUARTERLY*, XVI, 343) he adds that the neighbors of the Orcoquiza, who dwelt on the San Jacinto and Trinity rivers, were the Cocos on the west, and the Carancaguases and Cujanes on the west and southwest. With all these tribes but the Carancaguases, the Orcoquiza were generally on good terms. Racially they seem to have been related only to the Attacapas, on the east.

In 1749, a large number of Cocos and Tups (another Karankawan tribe) entered one of the missions founded in that year on the San Gabriel river. They soon deserted, and Father Santa Ana, who went to persuade them to return, found them "in their haunts between the Colorado and the Brazos." (Bolton, "The Founding of Missions on San Gabriel River," *THE QUARTERLY*, XVII, 374-375-376.)

know them through the records left by the Spanish officers and priests between 1690 and the closing years of the Spanish regime, are in close accord as to their habits and characteristics.

According to Kenney ("Tribal Society among Texas Indians," *THE QUARTERLY*, I, 28) the Karankawa inhabited the region from Galveston westward, and were noted for their gigantic stature and hideous aspect. All of them were over six feet in height, and each man carried a bow as long as himself, from which he shot arrows with great force and precision. Their language was an almost inarticulate guttural, impossible of imitation and the lowest form of human speech.

The series of reminiscences of early settlers collated by Mr. J. H. Kuykendall, and published in *THE QUARTERLY* in Volumes V and VI, are replete with references to these tribes. Colonel John H. Moore (*THE QUARTERLY*, V, 15) describes them as "A tribe of large, sluggish Indians, who fed mostly on fish and alligators. . . . They went always without moccasins, striding through briars unharmed, making such tracks as would hardly be attributed to a human being. Each man was required

ques.⁶⁵ By reason of similarity of name and location, we instantly associates the Cujanes with his Deaguanes; the Copanes with his Quevenes, and the Guapites with his Guaycones.⁶⁶ We may infer that the people called by Cabeza de Vaca de Charruco, from the woods in which they lived, and those of the "other nation and

⁶⁵Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 97-124.

⁶⁶Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95; Oviedo, III, pp. 600-601.

to have a bow the length of himself." The colonists felt that it was an act of justice and self-preservation to exterminate them, "since we were too weak to furnish food for the Karankawas, and had to be let alone to get bread for ourselves."

Sion R. Bostick (*THE QUARTERLY*, V, 9) says: "They were large Indians, very warlike and fierce fighters, but there were few of them and they were soon annihilated."

Captain Horatio Chriesman (*THE QUARTERLY*, VI, 239-241) describes a series of encounters with Indians of this tribe in the region of the mouth of the Colorado and San Bernard rivers and Oyster Creek.

Judge Thomas M. Duke (*THE QUARTERLY*, VI, 247-252) describes a fight with Carancawas in a canebrake near the mouth of the Colorado in 1822; and one with "Cokes" on Jones Creek (between the Brazos and San Bernard rivers) in 1824, in which the Indians, fighting from ambush in the cane, defeated the Texans. In another affray in the Colorado bottoms, in 1824, Robert Kuykendall, a man of extraordinary fleetness, undertook to capture a Carancawa squaw, but the latter effected her escape by leaping across a deep ravine a feat which Kuykendall, in pursuit, accomplished with much difficulty. Judge Duke estimated the Carancawas in 1822 at between two hundred and three hundred warriors. "This estimate includes the *Cokes* and *Cohannies*—who were in fact but fragments of the Carancawa tribe." By 1836 this number had been reduced by the exterminating tactics of the colonists to twenty-five or thirty.

Capt. John Ingram (*THE QUARTERLY*, VI, 324 *et seq.*) says that the Carancawas ranged along the coast from the mouth of the Nueces to the mouth of the Trinity, but their favorite resort was along Matagorda Bay and up the Colorado as high as Eagle Lake. Fish and alligators were their principal food. In stature they were scarcely surpassed by the Patagonians, the average height of the men being more than six feet, and every warrior's bow, when strung, was precisely as long as his person, and as useless in the hands of a man of ordinary strength as the bow of Ulysses in the hands of the suitors. The arrow, formed of cane, was about a yard long, including a piece of solid wood the size of the cane, and two or three inches in length, neatly fitted into it at each end. The larger pieces of wood received the arrow head, which was fastened with sinews. The smaller piece had a notch, or groove to receive the bow string. These Indians had no horses nor other domestic animals except dogs. They were expert swimmers and skillful canoe men. The entire tribe was rarely embodied. Divided into small parties, and wandering about the heads of the shallow bays which they navigated with their canoes, and through the dense forests and canebrakes of the Colorado bottom, they found a bountiful subsistence. Captain Ingram describes a fight with these Indians, in a canebrake on the banks of the Colorado river in which the settlers charged, on horseback, across the river, in

tongue," called Han, were related.⁶⁷ The Indians just east and northeast of the Cocos in later times were of the Bidai-Orcoquiza group. They seemed to have been generally on friendly terms with the Cocos. Hence, those of the "other nation and tongue," called

⁶⁷This conclusion is based on rather involved reasoning. The two tribes at Mal-Hado were of different stock, and spoke distinct languages. Cabeza de Vaca and his party fell into the hands of those of one language, Castillo and Dorantes and their men into the hands of those of the other. The kindness with which Cabeza de Vaca's party was received; and Cabeza de Vaca's description of the habits and customs of his Indians, comports more nearly with what we now know of the Orcoquizas, than with our subsequent knowledge of the Cocos. Some of these customs prevailed for about fifty leagues inland, and Cabeza de Vaca notes no change in languages and customs when he fled from the Indians of the island to those of the woods, called "de Charruco."

The Dorantes party apparently paid its way while on the island, since they were less destitute than the men of the Treasurer's barge, and less is said of the Indians among whom they were held during that first winter. Some of this party were taken to an island "back of where they lost the boats," to obtain food, so apparently they remained more coastward than Cabeza de Vaca's people. When the Dorantes party went forward in the spring, they apparently understood the dialect of the Indians encountered, which must have been a Karankawan dialect. Hence the tribe with which they spent the winter must have been Karankawan, and therefore the Capokes, or Cocos.

The Indians described by Cabeza de Vaca did not practice agriculture, and, says Oviedo, had no maize. In the middle of the eighteenth century the Orcoquiza and the Bidai grew some maize, but, according to Bolton ("Spanish Activities on the Lower Trinity River, 1746-1771," *THE QUARTERLY*, XVI, 345 *et seq.*), even then maize must have been a minor feature of the subsistence of the Orcoquizas, for they lived to a large extent on a fish diet, supplemented by sylvan fruits and game. They lived in relatively fixed villages, but went periodically back and forth, with the changes of the seasons, between the coast and the interior. The Bidai, and probably the Orcoquiza, remained inland during the winter. Racially the Orcoquiza were related to the Attacapas, with whom they were considerably mixed.

Cabeza de Vaca clearly implies that Mal-Hado was near the line of demarcation between two different stocks of Indians.

the face of a swarm of arrows. Returning they found that these arrows, though impelled nearly two hundred yards, were driven to the feather in the opposite bank of the river.

Captain Ingram and several of the other settlers describe a fight between the settlers and the Carankawas near the mouth of the Colorado in 1822, in which a canoe load of Indians was ambushed by the settlers and all but one of the Indians slain. The captured boat was laden with fish and oysters.

Brown in his *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas* and his *History of Texas* states that the Carancahuas were on good terms with Lafitte's men on Galveston Island, until some of the latter kidnapped a Carancahua squaw. The Indians crossed over to the island, ambuscaded a party of Lafitte's men and killed five of them. Lafitte attacked about three

Han and de Charruco, by Cabeza de Vaca, were probably tribes of this group.⁶⁸

The Carancaguases are not accounted for in the narratives, unless these were the Indians referred to later by Cabeza de Vaca under the name of Camones, who butchered the men of the barge of Tellez and Peñalosa, at a point on the coast opposite the *tuna* region, thirty or forty leagues forward toward Pánuco from the River of Nuts, near which Cabeza de Vaca rejoined Dorantes, Castillo, and the negro.

The Indians who dwelt on this River of Nuts, and with whom Andrés Dorantes, Alonzo del Castillo, and the negro were staying when Cabeza de Vaca came to join them, are described in both narratives more intimately than are any other Indians encountered on the entire journey. These descriptions are too long to be repeated here, but from them we know that these Indians were of Tonkawan stock; that Cabeza de Vaca's Mariames were probably

⁶⁸Bolton ("Founding of Mission Rosario," *THE QUARTERLY*, X, 117) describes the Jaranames and Tamiques as "Non-coast tribes, of a different language, hostile to and having a somewhat higher civilization than the Karankawans." The mission into which they were first introduced was located in northwestern Victoria country, where its site is marked by the name "Mission Valley." It was removed later to a site near Goliad. Shortly after this event, the greater part of the Jaranames abandoned the mission and went to live with the Tonkawas and Tawakonis. They continued to live with them, in abject poverty, for many years, but eventually returned to the mission. (Bolton's *Athanase de Mézières*, I, 28.) Bolton remarks that they occupied the borderland between four great Indian stocks. The Coahuiltecan, Karakawan, Tonkawan and Bidai-Ocoquiza, and that it is uncertain which language they spoke, since their association with the Tonkawas may have been due to the similarity of customs rather than of language. The Tamiques appear not to have apostatized. They are associated with Cabeza de Vaca's Mendicas by me solely by reason of similarity of names and location.

hundred of them near the "three trees," a well known landmark near the western end of Galveston island, with two hundred men and two pieces of artillery, and drove them back to the mainland with a loss of about thirty men. Many of Lafitte's men were wounded with arrows. Long, in October, 1819, with thirty men, attacked more than two hundred Carancahua warriors, who had butchered the crew of a French sloop, laden with wine, which had been wrecked on Galveston Island, and was beaten off by the Indians after the latter had lost thirty-two men killed. Brown adds (*History of Texas*, p. 71) that the French who founded the colony of "Champ D'asile" on the Trinity, in 1819, secured the good will of the Carancahuas.

Captain Gibson Kuykendall (*THE QUARTERLY*, VII, 31 *et seq.*) describes several expeditions against the Carancahuas, refers to depredations committed by "Cokes," and describes a fight between "Cokes" and

called by later explorers Jaranames;⁶⁹ that those called by him Mendicas, were later called Tamiques and his Iguaces, probably Anaquas.⁷⁰ It was among the Jaranames and Tamiques that the early Spanish missionaries rebuilt the Bahía del Espíritu Santo Mission on the lower Guadalupe river in 1726, after its failure among the Karankawan tribes, on the site of La Salle's settlement. Some Jaranames Indians guided Stephen F. Austin from Goliad to the mouth of the Guadalupe river in 1822.⁷¹

Concerning the Mariames, Oviedo says:⁷²

They kill rats, of which there are great quantities between those rivers. . . . Sometimes they eat fish which they kill in that river, but few, except when it overflows which is in the month of April, and sometimes it overflows twice. The second time is through May, and then they kill great quantities of fish, and very good ones. . . . There are in the coasts of that river many

⁶⁹There is a striking similarity between the description of the Mariames and Iguaces, contained in the Cabeza de Vaca narratives (see preceding note) and the description of the Tonkawas by the early Texas settlers, as regards habits, disposition, and relations with the neighboring coast Indians (see "Recollections of Judge Thomas M. Duke," edited by J. H. Kuykendall, *THE QUARTERLY*, VI, 252-253; "Biographical Sketch of Capt. John Ingram," by same editor, *THE QUARTERLY*, VI, 326-327-328; "Recollections of Catpain Gibson Kuykendall," *THE QUARTERLY*, VII, 30-31-32; Note by Mr. J. H. Kuykendall, *THE QUARTERLY*, VII, 40; Fannie McAlpine Clarke, "A Chapter in the History of Young Territory," *THE QUARTERLY*, IX, 53; Kenney, "Tribal Society Amongst Texas Indians," *THE QUARTERLY*, I, 28; Brown's *History of Texas*, I, 21; Austin's Journal, *THE QUARTERLY*, VII, 297).

⁷⁰Brown, *History of Texas*, I, 21.

⁷¹Austin's Journal, *THE QUARTERLY*, VII, 299.

⁷²Oviedo, III, p. 601.

"Choctaws" on the prairie a mile or two below Fort Bend. In a note to this paper Mr. J. H. Kuykendall, who edited it, describes the roots which these Indians ate as "brier-root" (others of the settlers mentioned "bamboo-root" in this connection) and adds "this brier root is common in Texas. It contains a farina as palatable and wholesome as arrow root. The Indians extract this starch by pounding the root and washing it in water."

Stephen F. Austin encountered some "Coacos" Indians between the Brazos and the Colorado rivers, in the bottoms of the latter stream, below the La Bahía crossing in September, 1821 (Austin's Journal, *THE QUARTERLY*, VII, 304-305). He says that he knew they lived with the Carancawas, and that they were, with the latter Indians, "the universal enemies of mankind—they killed of all nations that came into their power." He prophesied truly that the arrival of an American population would be the signal for their destruction. He describes the "Coacos" as well formed, and apparently very active and athletic men. Their bows

nuts which they eat in their season because (the trees) bear nuts one year, and another they do not. Sometimes one or two years pass that they bear no fruit, but when there, these nuts are many, and the Indians are very fond of them, and from all the territory for twenty or thirty leagues round about they gather to eat them. . . . So many people come to eat nuts that they kill and frighten away all the game, and in all the months the trees bear they eat nuts and nothing else. These nuts are much smaller than those in Spain, and it is difficult to extract the kernel so as to eat them. . . . These Indians eat roots, which they dig from the soil the greater part of the winter. These are very few, and dug with much labor.

Cabeza de Vaca says of the same Indians:⁷³

[They] eat nuts upon which they subsist for two months in the year, grinding certain small grains (*granillos*) with them without eating anything else. Even of that they do not always have, since one year there may be some and the next year not. They (the nuts) are of the size of those of Galicia, and the trees are very big and numerous. . . . Their principal food are two or three kinds of roots, which they hunt for all over the land; they are very unhealthy, inflating, and it takes two days to roast them. Many are very bitter, and with all that they are gathered with much difficulty. But these people are so much exposed to

⁷³Cabeza de Vaca, p. 79.

were about 5½ to 6 feet long, their arrows two to three feet, and well pointed with iron or steel. Some of the young squaws were handsome, and one of them quite pretty. They had panther skins around their waists, painted, which extended down to the knee and calf of the leg. Above the waist though, they were naked. The breasts were marked, or tattooed in circles of black, beginning with a small circle near the nipple, and enlarging as the breast swelled.

Dr. Ethel Zivley Rather, in her work on *De Witt's Colony* (THE QUARTERLY, VIII, 131-134-135), notes that in 1827 the Carancawas were divided into two bands—the Cocos, and a band led by Antonio, a mission born Indian. The Cocos appear to have given the colony considerable trouble. The mission born Indians, when near extermination, were distributed among the white people as servants.

Dr. Herbert E. Bolton's work ("Founding of Mission Rosario," THE QUARTERLY, X, 114 *et seq.*; "Native Tribes About the East Texas Missions," THE QUARTERLY, XI, 225-274; "Spanish Activities on Lower Trinity River, 1746-1771," THE QUARTERLY, XVI, 342-343; "Founding of Missions on the San Gabriel River" (THE QUARTERLY, XVIII, 334-376); "Beginnings of Mission Nuestra Señora del Refugio," THE QUARTERLY, XIX, 400-404; "Introduction" to *Athanase de Mézières*, Cleveland, 1913) justifies the conclusion that the *Carancaguaces* were originally one of the less important tribes of the Karankawan group, which increased in rela-

starvation that these roots are indispensable, and they walk two or three leagues to obtain them.

According to Oviedo the place where Lope de Oviedo turned back was ten leagues beyond the "Ancón del Espíritu Santo." We learn from Cabeza de Vaca that it was at a place "about one league from there," on the "shores of that river," that Cabeza de Vaca met Dorantes and Castillo, who had come there with their Indians to eat the nuts, which were "very many that year." Oviedo also speaks of this river as being "near the Ancón del Espíritu Santo." The nuts were found, therefore, on the borders of a river (Oviedo implies two rivers) within a dozen leagues of the Gulf. Pecans are found, in any considerable quantity, at only one point on the coastal plain of Texas, and that is in the bottoms of the Guadalupe and San Antonio rivers, which are, in their lower courses, practically one stream. These are the only "rivers of nuts" on the Texas Coast.¹⁴ Pecans are the only nuts found in Texas, west of the Trinity, in quantities to satisfy the demands of the narratives. The Nueces, Lavaca, Navidad, and the smaller rivers and bayous west of the Colorado, except the Guadalupe and San Antonio, are, in the coastal plain, prairie rivers, bordered only by a few fine groves of live oaks, and scattered oak trees of

¹⁴Stephen F. Austin, in 1821, found the region at the mouth of the Guadalupe and the San Antonio rivers heavily timbered with pecan and oak, and found pecans higher on the Guadalupe (THE QUARTERLY, VII, 300). Samuel A. White, original surveyor of the John Hynes' Survey, on the west margin of the San Antonio, found pecan trees just above Hines' Bay, April 15, 1834. (Title to John Hynes' Survey, Archives, General Land Office.)

tive importance largely because it remained freer from mission influence than the others; that the tribes now known collectively as Karankawan were more often referred to by the Spanish missionaries as Cujanes; that the Cocos were rather superior to the other Karankawan tribes, and were almost as closely associated with the Bidais and Orecoquizas as with their Karankawan kindred.

Kuykendall (THE QUARTERLY, VI, 253) says that in 1855 the once formidable Karankawa tribe had dwindled to five or six individuals, who dwelt near San Fernando, State of Tamaulipas, Mexico. Father Parisot (*Reminiscences of a Texas Missionary*, p. 21) reports visiting survivors "of a tribe of Indians called Carancawas," on the Calcasieu river, in southwestern Louisiana, in 1853. Probably these were Attacapas. The *Handbook of American Indians*, edited by F. W. Hodge, states that the surviving Karankawas were attacked by Juan Nepomuceno Cortina, in 1858, in their hiding place in Texas and destroyed. As a matter of fact, a few of them appear to have survived and retained their tribal identity,

other varieties. The present channel of the Colorado is bordered only by cottonwoods, sycamores, elms, willows and other quick growth trees, among which pecans are rare. The Caney Creek bed of the Colorado, the San Bernard and Brazos rivers and Oyster Creek, flow through a dense forest near the coast, but this is an acorn-bearing forest, which produces few nuts. The great scarcity of roots, noted by both narratives in the vicinity of the River of Nuts, implies that this was prairie region. Aside from the fact that the Guadalupe is the only river to which Dorantes could have returned twenty leagues after crossing the "great water," and to which Cabeza de Vaca could have journeyed forward ten leagues after crossing the "great ancon," there is no other "river of nuts" on the Texas Coast. This confirms Mr. Baskett's conclusion that the River of Nuts was the Guadalupe.

(To be continued)

under the name of "Tampaquash" or "Tampaquaces," in southwestern Hidalgo county, until late in the nineteenth century. The fact that "Koienkahé," as their tribe was called by Joutel, and "Tampaquash," are foreign variations of the same name, illustrates the difficulty of tracing the name of an Indian tribe through the vocabulary of other races. "Koienkahé" is easily followed through the other French variations "Quelancouchis" and "Clamcoët," but it is only by successive corruptions through "Carancaguaces," "Tarancaguaces," "Talancaguaces," and "Tampacuaces," that we arrive at "Tampaquash." Remote from either is the American derivative "Caronk."

REMINISCENCES OF THE TERRY RANGERS

J. K. P. BLACKBURN

II

The army remained at Shelbyville, Tennessee, for some time, then moved on south by way of Tullahoma to Chattanooga and encamped there. Our individual regiment acting as scouts and guards for the rear moved leisurely along after our army, delaying the enemy's movements as far as they might attempt to follow.

After we passed Tullahoma, I don't remember seeing another blue coat until the battle of Chickamauga, which took place in the following September, the 19th and 20th. Our line of march was along the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railroad until we reached Chattanooga, and then we were allowed to move down to Rome, Georgia, where we had a much needed rest of two weeks which, with a few days at Woodburn, Kentucky, constituted our entire rest up to this time.

It may be well at this time to mention the fact that while up in Kentucky General Forrest was taken from us and returned to Tennessee to raise a new command of cavalry. He took with him his old regiment and from that time up to the battle of Chickamauga our regiment again acted as an independent command.

After our resting spell we were ordered to rejoin the army. Rosecrans with a large force had compelled General Bragg to retire towards Chickamauga a few miles south of Chattanooga. Here the two armies met in one of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War, continuing two days and resulting in a complete victory for the Confederates; but the victory was won at a fearful cost. General Forrest had by this time raised a new command and during this battle he and his men won immortal fame by fighting the enemy on foot and driving them, capturing their artillery and proving to all who were disposed to doubt the effectiveness of cavalry in warfare that they could vie with the infantry in infantry service when called upon. Some one speaking of Forrest's success at Chickamauga said he had glorified the cavalry by showing they could win victories against great odds on foot as well as on horseback.

Our regiment was engaged only twice during the battle and that was when Federal cavalry tried to attack our army from the rear. In one of these attacks we met and defeated the Fourth Ohio Cavalry, mortally wounding their colonel and driving them off, leaving their dead and wounded on the field. We passed back over the field, and the Colonel still living and gasping for breath was sitting with his back against a tree. Some of our boys approached him and said to him, "Well, Colonel, as you will not need your hat or boots any longer, we beg the privilege of exchanging with you," and as the Colonel could not reply, the boys concluded that silence gives consent, and proceeded to make the exchange.

For the balance of the time our duties kept us policing and guarding during that battle rather than fighting. The Federal army returned to Chattanooga and our army took position near there on Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, where other battles occurred later on. Our regiment moved up on the Tennessee river, where we picketed on the river. On the opposite side at the time was the Fourth Ohio Cavalry also on picket duty. The pickets talked to each other across the stream and found out they were somewhat acquainted from personal contact at Chickamauga and some other point which I cannot recall; also feeling there should be no animosity existing between men who had faced each other in battle, they arranged for a truce, a suspension of hostilities until they could have a swim, a few yarns, swap tobacco for coffee, exchange newspapers and have a good time generally. A Yank said to Johnnie Reb,—these were the endearing names we were accustomed to give each other, "Where is Old Ironsides (our Colonel) today?" "At camp," says Johnnie Reb, "Where is Colonel So-and-so?" (calling by name the colonel of the Fourth Ohio) "Oh the devil, you know where we left him over at Chickamauga," was the answer. These truces were common in all parts of the army when it could be arranged without a commissioned officer being present. They could not afford to participate because of position and commission. I believed then, and I still believe now, if the terms of peace had been left to the men who faced each other in battle day after day, they would have stopped the war at once on terms acceptable to both sides (except the civil rulers)

and honorable to all alike. These men that always bore the brunt of battle never had and never will have any bad feelings towards each other.

Some time in October news reached us that one hundred wagons, loaded with provisions for Rosecrans army had started from Nashville to Chattanooga to feed his army. Provisions had become very scarce, and the railroad was torn up so they could get nothing over it. Hence it was necessary for them to use wagons to transport their supplies. A brigade of cavalry was organized at once consisting of the 8th Texas, which was our regiment, the 11th Texas, 3rd Arkansas, and 4th Tennessee regiments and placed under command of General Joe Wheeler. General Forrest was ordered to turn over his command to General Wheeler. This order aroused the wrath of Forrest, who contended that he should be in chief command. General Wheeler started on a raid through middle Tennessee to capture and destroy that wagon train and to do the enemy any damage he could otherwise.¹⁴ We met the wagon train in Sequachie Valley, all loaded heavily, with four good mules to each wagon. We burned the train, while the guards with the train deserted it for safety in the mountains close by. We killed most of the mules, amounting to hundreds, only saving a few to take the places of some wornout horses in our commands and other needs we might have on the trip, such as substitutes for ambulance work and for artillery service when it became necessary to make such changes. This destruction of the train was a great waste of food and other army supplies, but we felt it was but just punishment for the invaders and destroyers of our country. We moved into middle Tennessee.

By the time we reached Warren County, General Mitchell (author of Mitchell's Geography) had gathered an army of mounted infantry and was in pursuit of us. Once upon the mountains, Colonel Harrison had to form a line of battle and show fight to protect our rear guard who had been run into by the Federals. We stood in line some time for them to come in sight so we could charge them, but instead of coming on they stayed back in some bushes and ran up a battery of their guns and began to shell us

¹⁴For Wheeler's report of this raid, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXX, Part II, pp. 722-725.—C. W. R.

pretty heavily. I was in command of Company F and while sitting on my horse in front of my company I noticed most of the shells were coming or seeming to come over my company and the shots were getting lower every time. I looked for a reason and found that four of the men were riding white horses and had accidentally gotten bunched together in the line; this affording a fine target for the enemy's guns, so I ordered one of these men to go quickly and ask permission of Colonel Harrison for me to dismount my men. I had ordered him to go quickly and he galloped or run his horse up to head or right of regiment (my company being in left of same). In less time than it takes to write this my man returned and said "Colonel Harrison says 'No. Keep your men on their horses.'" I called at once, "Attention, Company F; dismount, lie down flat on the ground and hold your bridle reins in your hand." Just as the order was obeyed, a shell struck one of these white horses in the breast, tearing off his shoulder and doubtless would have taken off the leg of the rider if he had been on him. I had thus disobeyed orders, which is always dangerous and is condemned by the authorities on military tactics, but I found consolation in the fact that I had saved the life that would have been uselessly sacrificed, as I looked at it. Soon an order came from General Wheeler for us to fall back. Our loss was only one man killed in Company C, and some horses. This man might have been saved if Company C had been dismounted as was Company F.

The enemy didn't trouble us much more after this until we reached Farmington, in Marshall County, Tennessee. We had passed through Shelbyville the previous day and as Northern merchants had come into that town with an abundance of all kinds of merchandise, groceries, including liquors, wares, etc., our men considered that those goods were contraband, since they belonged to army followers, and they helped themselves liberally to such things as they thought they needed; the officers only forbidding the taking of whiskey. But most of the soldiers managed to get some in their canteens to take with them for future emergencies; so the next day the rear guard, imbibing too freely, got on a spree and while they were having the time of their lives the Federal mounted infantry ran into them, captured and scattered the

whole guard and closed upon the moving column of General Wheeler's army, so that he had to give battle at Farmington to protect himself. General Wheeler unlimbered his artillery near the pike and commenced a rapid fire. The enemy replied in kind with several guns. While this artillery firing was going on a courier was sent for us who were four or five miles north of Farmington near Duck river. The order was to come to Farmington double quick, which meant a gallop all the way. The enemy had moved a regiment in a column of two or double ranks close order up to within 250 yards of General Wheeler's battery and parallel to the pike and they were armed with Spencer rifles as we learned later on. This movement was being made on foot, notwithstanding they were mounted men. Their horses had been left in the rear. Company F was in front that day at the head of the column of regiment and I was commanding the company. As we approached General Wheeler, he gave an order to our Colonel who was riding by my side to "form fours, move up the pike until you draw fire of the enemy, then charge them."

There was a drizzle of rain, the smoke from the artillery was lowering, and the enemy were obscured from our view until we were probably 75 yards from them. The enemy on our approach had formed along parallel the pike on the west side of it and fired a volley from their whole line into our columns of four, aiming at the sound of our horses' feet, for we were still obscured from their view by the smoke, but that volley found victims all the way down the regiment, striking every horse excepting one at the head of the column and about a dozen men in Company F. When that volley was fired Colonel Harrison ordered me to lead the charge; and with a yell, answered by many still unhurt along the column, I shouted as loud as I could, "Charge them, Rangers!" Colonel Harrison dropped out to one side and as the other companies came rushing on he would say to them, "Follow Blackburn." The yell and the rattle and roar of horses feet on the pike was too much for the enemy's nerves and they broke back up the pike. A high cedar rail fence along the pike on the side they were on kept them from scattering out far that way, and so they ran back like frightened sheep until they seemed to be twenty or more deep when we reached them and still pressing

back away from us. When I had gone along the side of this fleeing mass as far as any one seemed to be following me, I turned into the fleeing column with my six-shooter with all of the energy and expedition I could.

As I passed a small elm tree not more than four inches in diameter I think, where a few men, four or five, had stopped for protection, one of them put his gun within a few inches of my left thigh and fired. I saw the gun just as it fired, but not in time to knock it down. The bullet passed through both of my thighs, cutting a branch artery and fracturing the bone in my right limb, and as the bone did not break the ball glanced and came out on top of my leg. The blood from the artery followed, spurting for a short time. I had fired three or four shots up to this time at close range that enabled me to reach the men crowding against me, but when I saw the flow of blood following that wound I had no inclination to continue the performance, so I turned my horse to ride to the rear. As I turned I found my Sergeant, Ledbetter, at my side engaged in the same game I was leaving, but before my horse could get a start the Sergeant's horse was killed and fell suddenly, falling against my horse, nearly knocking him down with his fall. I saw Ledbetter was fastened under his horse, his foot having been caught under him. I rode to the rear.

Just at this juncture another enemy regiment came up on the right side and fired a volley into our regiment, which began to retire slowly and in order. I rode on through the village and on to a little creek nearby, where I found four of my men whose horses had been killed by the first volley of the enemy as we had charged. They had retired there for safety after being dismounted so unceremoniously. When I reached them my horse began to stagger and seeing he was going to fall I asked my men to take me off of him and by the time they had placed me on a blanket on the ground my steed fell dead with six bullets in his body, any one of which would have proven fatal, so my men reported. Noble steed, he had been with me in many battles, but this was his last one and I will say it was also my last battle, for I was a prisoner of war on parole of honor for the balance of the time.

The battle of Farmington was now over and the enemy held the field, but attempted no pursuit. Other Confederate commands had been fighting there before we came into the fray, but had yielded to the onslaught of superior numbers. I do not know the losses on either side, but I saw an account of the battle of Farmington a few days afterwards in a Northern paper which reported Wheeler's losses at 300 killed and wounded and Mitchell's losses at 180 killed and wounded. I know that was an exaggerated report so far as our losses were concerned and rather think it was concerning Mitchell's losses.

A just criticism of the regiment of soldiers we charged that day might be penned here. Situated and formed as they were so that their entire fire could be concentrated on the pike, and armed as they were with repeating rifles, they missed an opportunity that rarely comes to a command in warfare to annihilate a whole regiment of their antagonists by standing their ground and firing their guns already loaded in hand; for fourteen volleys well aimed as the first one would have destroyed our command without a loss of one of their own men. But their cowardly feet took them away and lost to them this opportunity.

Three or four men left on the field were taken in by the citizens close by, of whom I now call to mind, Steve and Dick Jarmen, and George Chandler. Ledbetter made his escape from under his horse in a miraculous manner. He said afterwards that he tried his best to pull his foot from under the horse, but as he had a new cavalry boot on that foot and that tied with a stout leather string above his knee as was the custom he decided that it couldn't be done; so he continued to shoot at this new command approaching from the east side of turnpike with his pistol, thinking he could surrender to them after his pistol was emptied. As the enemy drew nearer they discovered he was a red headed man and ordered him in a most indecent way to surrender "a red headed ———." They continued to fire at him, seeing he was not obeying their orders, when one of their balls struck him between the second and third fingers of his left hand, going through his hand and arm up to the elbow and coming out there. He said the pain seemed to give him the strength of a giant and with another trial he brought out his foot, leaving his boot under the

dead horse. He rose and broke to run. W. H. Harris, another member of Company F as he slowly retired to the rear, turned his horse, and galloped back and met him. Ledbetter sprang on the horse behind Harris and rode away in a gallop out of danger. In the meantime the enemy beholding the daring feat quit firing and cheered Harris for his brave act which saved a wounded comrade.

After my horse's death I turned over my pistols, saddle, bridle, blanket, etc., and another horse I had back with the baggage wagon to Sam Street one of Company F and asked him to take care of them for me. I was placed on a blanket and carried by four comrades to the rear to get beyond reach of the bullets which were still falling around us from the enemy's guns. As we moved along bunched up that way the enemy would fire at us, for we made a good target for them. I could hear the balls striking the ground around us and begged my men to leave me there and save themselves. They refused and said if I could stand if they could, and took me on and out of reach of the enemy's fire (for they did not follow us up) and found an ambulance, put me in that and carried me on about six miles further to Lewisburg, Tennessee. Here they left me in the house of Mr. McKnight, who with his wife lived alone, both of them well advanced in years, but both as good and kind as possible for most people to be. Our surgeon had made only a casual examination of me, had given me a dose of morphine and a glass of brandy when I was first taken off my horse, and then went on to the other wounded, without seeming to realize I was bleeding so profusely as to endanger my life. But when we reached Lewisburg, I was so exhausted from loss of blood that Dr. McClure, a local physician there who looked at me, told my attendants it was necessary to leave me there if they expected to save my life. So I was left there so weakened that I could not raise my head from my pillow.

That night Wheeler's command moved on southward five or six miles and camped. Next day about nine o'clock General Mitchell's army came into Lewisburg and halted there for some hours and while there his surgeon busied himself looking up the wounded who had been able to get that far from the battlefield, of whom there were several. When he came in to see me he examined me pretty closely and said "This right thigh has a fracture and must

be taken off at the hip joint." I uttered my protest with all the strength I could command and said, "No, it will not be taken off." He replied, "It will kill you if left on." I said, "Let it kill me." He replied, "If you are fool enough to risk it, it is all right with me." I said, "I am fool enough to risk it, for when that leg goes to the grave I am going with it." He asked my rank, I think, and left.

Pretty soon Mitchell's Adjutant General came in. He said he came over to parole me by Mitchell's order. I said, "Read me the terms and conditions of parole." He read, "Pledge your honor never to fight any more against the United States forces until you are duly exchanged. You report to the nearest United States forces as soon as you are able to walk. Will you sign it and keep it?" he asked. I said, "I will," so he handed me the paper and pen and I signed, lying flat on my back. Of all the wounded left there at Farmington I was the only one paroled that I heard of.

My men left at Farmington were kindly cared for by the citizens and were constantly watched and movements reported to Federal authorities by Union men who were to be found in many sections, now that the Union forces had possession of the State. These Union men sympathized generally with the Yankees, and wished them success. Before these men of Company F were supposed to be able to travel they escaped south by the aid of some secret scouts who were operating in the State in behalf of Southern leaders. Steve Jarmon the worst wounded one was put on a lounge or pallet on a mule's back and tied on and transported in that way south to his company, while the others rode horseback by his side to their destination. Steve recovered sufficiently for light service and remained to the end, but never got well and died from the effects of his wound many years after the war closed, so his wife afterwards told me. I recall a few names of the killed and wounded outside of my company in the battle of Farmington. John Martin Lane of Company A was killed. He had a sister living in Pulaski, Tennessee, who came for the body and buried it at Brick Church, the former burying ground of his family. A. G. Love of Company C, I think, was killed and buried there. Some of his kinsfolk living at Culleoka came for his body, exhumed it, and buried it at Culleoka, Tennessee. Lieutenant

Hunter was killed there and buried there. I think he belonged to Company H. Major A. P. Christian was shot in the mouth and several jaw teeth knocked out, and the bullet came out under his right ear. Jones, of Company A, was shot in the head, but not fatally wounded. About fourteen soldiers killed there were buried in one grave by the citizens of the neighborhood, and they erected a monument over them, or for them since the war. This battle was fought on October 7, 1863.

Dr. R. H. Bunting was chaplain of our regiment and besides preaching and praying for us, one part of his work was to look after the mails—to send them out, receive them, and distribute them properly to the right parties. He also wrote regularly to the "Houston Telegraph" a letter to be published in that paper for information of our friends at home. This paper was published at Houston, Texas, and had a wide circulation in the State. In speaking of the battle of Farmington and its casualties in our regiment he wrote: "And the noble Blackburn fell at the head of the column, leading a charge upon the enemy." He never mentioned—and did not at the time he wrote know—whether I lived or died. My mother saw that news in the paper as soon as it arrived and after sitting some time in silence and agony of spirit she remarked to those present, "Well, if he had to fall, I am glad he fell at the head of the column, charging the enemy of his country." My sister who was present at the time told me of this remark, showing the patriotic resignation of our dear mother.

Let no one conclude that I or Company F was selected because of our fitness for the undertaking to lead and make this particular charge and to gain this honor, for many other companies in the regiment could have done equally well or better. It was a mere chance that we were at the front, as you will readily see when I explain to you that the companies on the march alternated in service at the front, taking the place in regular rotation one day at the front, next day in the rear, allowing next company to be front and so on until every company had taken its turn at the front. All scouts, messengers, and pickets were selected from front company each day, hence the necessity of changing and alternating regularly from day to day. This day of battle was

Company F's day at the front, and as I was in command of the company this honor of leading the charge and bearing the brunt of the battle was thrust upon us.

My experiences as a prisoner of war were for the most part very agreeable and satisfactory during the time I remained in middle Tennessee, which was about one year. I was feasted by the neighbors in the town and good people from the country would send in town and take me out to the country for a week at a time as soon as I began to hobble around on my crutches. The young people insisted on my attending all the little gatherings they had, and as there were many nice young ladies on every side it was quite a pleasant existence for me.

After about four months' time when I knew I must soon face the ordeal required by one condition of my parole—to report to the United States forces as soon as I was able—I began to make preparations for it. First I asked Esquire Reed, a strong Union man living in Lewisburg and a man of influence with the Yankees, and a Mr. Idol Henderson, living at Cornersville a few miles away, with like qualifications, if they would accompany me when I went to make my report to the Yankees at Nance's Mills, just south of Cornersville, about one mile distant from there. They both consented very readily to do so. They had both been to see me and made my acquaintance and seemed to like me and sympathize with me, and I had an impression that they might be able to keep me out of prison for a while at least, because I knew that clause was intended to make me take the oath of allegiance to the United States Government or go to prison as soon as I could travel. So I set the day before I could walk without crutches. Esquire Reed took me in his buggy and Mr. Henderson was to meet us at Major Evans's headquarters, who was in charge of Federal forces at that place. He was using Nance's Flouring Mills to supply the Federal army at different points in the State with flour and had a battalion of men, maybe more, about him for protection. We found Major Evans to be quite a nice man and a gentleman of quiet and friendly disposition.

We went in his office, and I presented my parole to him and told him I had come in to comply with condition of parole, and while I was not yet able to walk without my crutches still I was able

to report. Major Evans in a most jovial and affable manner said, "Why certainly, now let me administer the oath of allegiance to the United States Government to you, and as this country is full of pretty girls and a good country to live in you can have the finest time a young man ever had anywhere." I shook my head and said, "No, I cannot do that." Then with a saddened expression of face at my refusal he said, "It becomes my duty to send you to prison." Up to this time my companions had not spoken, and I did not know what their plans were, for I had not discussed any plan with them, only asked them to accompany me. They said, or one of them said, "Major, we would like a private conference with you in the other room." The office was a two-roomed cottage with a stack chimney in the middle, with doors and shutters between rooms. For half an hour or more they consulted, leaving me alone with my thoughts. After a while they came in and Major Evans addressing me said, "Your friends seem to have much confidence in you." I said, "I am thankful, gentlemen." He continued, "They proposed if I would let you stay in the neighborhood that they would go on your bond for \$10,000 for your good behavior, and I have concluded to accept their proposition." I said, "Many thanks, gentlemen, to you all." The Major continuing said, "The terms are agreed on. Who will write out the bond? Can you?" I said, "I never did write one and I had rather not undertake it." He then asked my two friends and his Adjutant too, I think. All asked to be excused and he said he didn't know how to do it himself, and seeming to be at a loss as to what he should do he turned to me and said, "If I release you on your parole without bond will you pledge your honor to behave yourself and abide by the other condition in said parole?" I said, "I surely will." He said, "Will you promise to report to me once a week so I may keep track of you and find you when I have to?" I said, "Yes, if you will allow a written report instead of a verbal one, as I have no means of transportation." So the agreement was made and I returned to my home at the McKnights at Lewisburg with a thankful heart, for I always had a mortal dread of prison life. This arrangement was satisfactory to the Federals and my parole protected me from molestation from the many passing commands I would see or meet almost daily.

I stayed at Lewisburg until some time in March, I think. I had made the acquaintance of a young Presbyterian preacher named Ewing, at whose mother's house I had been a guest a time or two. He had a monthly appointment to preach at Brick Church, about fourteen miles south of Lewisburg, and asked me one time to accompany him down there. I accepted the invitation on condition I could get permission from Major Evans to do so. His route was right by Evans's camps, and I started with the hope that Major Evans would not object. He readily consented and I made arrangements to teach a little country school down in that neighborhood, where the people were trying to get up one. At Mr. Ewing's next appointment down there I went, carrying my scant wardrobe with me, bidding adieu to many kind friends at Lewisburg, whom I had become very fond of. I kept up my reporting to Major Evans on and on until some time in the fall.

General G. M. Dodge with a large force of Federals came to Pulaski, Giles County, and remained a while and was ordered from there on to Chattanooga, and took all of the troops from that section with him, including Major Evans, and his command. It was said that the Major and his crowd got on a big drunk when they left that section. I know not how it was, but I do know that he went off without leaving me any orders, and now having no one to watch me I thought somewhat of my chances of going South and getting to my command and seeking a private exchange so I could take my place in my company. But the long trip seemed to be too much for me with one of my limbs still weak from the wound.

My school closed for a three month's term, and another one was offered me. I continued to teach for a while. One Sunday Doctor Gordon and I went to Cornersville to church to hear Dr. Stoddart of the Presbyterian Church preach. On our return home we met General John C. Starkweather, who had taken General Dodge's place at Pulaski, on the pike with one or two regiments of cavalry, making a reconnoissance up towards Cornersville. He immediately arrested us, made us turn back and escorted us and several other prisoners he had arrested back to town and to Esquire Chafin's office. He inquired of Chafin if he was

a magistrate there and being told he was, he ordered him to enroll everyone of these men in the State militia as required by the proclamation of the Military Governor of Tennessee, Andrew Johnson, and then left us under a strong guard while the magistrate should enroll us in the service to help to repel an expected invasion of the rebels from the South. I had made the acquaintance of a Mr. McBride who had deserted from a Texas regiment, joined the Yankees in that section and was acting as pilot or guide for Federal scouting parties who might need such help, and while I never saw him or knew him before, yet he seemed to take some interest in me, probably because we came from the same State.

Not long after we were put under guard, Mr. Stoddart the preacher came to me, asking the guard the privilege of speaking to me, and said in a very low tone of voice, "McBride says, 'What are you going to do?'" I replied in the same tone, "Tell him I am not going to enlist in the State militia." That ended our conference and he withdrew. A little later Stoddart returned and said, "McBride says for you to ask for a guard to take you before General Starkweather and when you get there you show the General your parole, telling him who you are and he will excuse you from the enlistment, he thinks." So I asked for the guard and he marched me up to the General's headquarters, holding a gun with bayonet on it in his hands behind my back all the way.

When I reached there, the General had just had a good dinner and plenty to drink and was enjoying himself talking and chatting with members of his staff. I pulled my hat off, walked in front of the General, saluted with a military salute, and stood before his majesty. He stopped talking, returned the salute, and waited to see what I would do. I told him I was a Confederate soldier on parole, was one of the men he had arrested and left with Esquire Chafin to be enrolled in the State militia and I had come to tell him that I would not be enlisted and asked the protection my parole guaranteed me. He asked for my parole and I showed it to him, and after a little consideration he said if I would report to him at Pulaski the following Wednesday he would release me and let me return home. I told him I would if there were no providential hindrances. So he dismissed my guard and

gave me a pass to go home. When Wednesday came I asked Mr. Henderson to accompany me and he consented and I asked Mr. Lonnie Gordon to take me down and we three drove to Pulaski, went to General Starkweather's headquarters over on East Hill in Judge T. M. Jones' residence, and I presented myself before him saluting him. He didn't recognize me at first and I explained, "You arrested me last Sunday near Cornersville and released me with the injunction to report to you today and I am here according to promise." He still seemed in doubt. He pulled a memorandum book from his pocket, turned his back to me to get a better light on his book and began to look over a list of names he had on it. He commenced at the top running his finger along slowly—and said when half way down, "You say your name is Blackburn?" I answered, "Yes." He folded his book and remarked, "Major Alman gave me this list—a list of Confederates for me to look after." Major Alman, it is needless to say, was one of those Southerners who played both sides; always trying to curry favor with whomsoever controlled his section. Turning to me, he said, "Won't you take the oath of allegiance to the United States government?" I answered, "No." He asked why. I answered, "I cannot swallow it and besides I owe allegiance to another government." He then said, "It is my duty to send you to a Northern prison." At this juncture my good friend, Henderson, asked for a private interview with the General. These two retired to another room and were absent for some time. When they came back I caught Henderson's eye and he slightly shook his head. I knew before the General told me that there was no hope in sight for me to escape the prison.

The General said my friend was good enough to offer to stand for me, but he couldn't be bothered with such things, and he would do his duty and send me on to prison. I said, "All right, but, General, it seems a long trip to make and a cold place to lodge for a man without a cent of money in his pocket." He agreed that this was true. I said, "General, I have one request to make of you." He said, "Say on." I said, "I have been teaching a little school where I live and I would like to have a few days before I start for prison to make some collections so I will not have to go without any money at all." He said, "If I

will let you off for a week, will you report to *me* here at *Pulaski* next Wednesday?" I promised I would if the Lord was willing. He ordered his Adjutant General to give me and my two friends passes so we could go home, and this was the last time I saw General Starkweather, for before the next Wednesday came he obtained a furlough for sixty days and went up to his home in Ohio for a rest and recuperation. I hadn't promised to report to anyone except General Starkweather at Pulaski, so when the next Wednesday came I remained at home and didn't try to find him. By the time he returned from home, General Forrest who had taken Athens, Alabama, with about two thousand prisoners was marching up the railroad towards Pulaski, taking all the Yankee forces from stockades along the route and was now ready to lay siege to or capture Pulaski; and Starkweather was kept too busy to think of me. I knew he had returned, but as the time for my reporting to him at Pulaski had long since passed and no new date had been fixed for the report I simply didn't seek to have another day set for our meeting, and remained at home.

General Forrest after shelling Pulaski for a while didn't deem it prudent to make an attack there on account of the strong fortifications; then retired south and joined General Hood, now approaching Tennessee with his whole army. As the Southern army came in the State Federal forces in the southern portion of the State retired before it and pretty soon Giles County was under control of the Confederate soldiers and I was again in the hands of my friends. I reported at once to General Hood, gave him account of my history as a prisoner, showed him my parole and asked him if he could arrange for my exchange so that I might enter the service again. He replied that he had a camp at Columbus, Georgia, where he made private exchanges of prisoners with the enemy, and he would furnish me with papers and transportation to that point, which would enable me to get the desired exchange. So he issued the necessary papers of instructions and orders for transportation on railway and for use of soup stands for my benefit, and taking the papers I returned home to make preparation for my trip. I purchased a fine mare from Dr. Gordon which he had bought to use in his profession, but found he would be unable to keep her from the raiding cavalry-

men passing, often looking for and taking all the best horses wherever they found them. He was very willing to sell her to me for \$125.00, taking my note for same. My intention was to get in as good shape as possible and to make the trip on horseback to Columbus, Georgia, and when I got the exchange I would be mounted and ready for service.

While I was getting ready for the trip, General Hood pushed on to Franklin, Tennessee, and had one-third of his army slaughtered there, but held the battlefield and followed the Federal army on to Nashville, where he was defeated by the Federals, they being reinforced by another army.¹⁵ Before I was fully equipped for my journey General Hood was falling back south with his army. So I delayed my start south, to see if I would have company for my trip. A few days more passed and Hood's army was passing through Giles County going south. I fell in with the rear, far enough from the extreme rear to be out of reach of the continuous fire the Federals kept up on the rear guard of that retreating army.

The weather was extremely cold, many of Hood's army were entirely barefooted and ragged, and some of them wounded at Franklin were trudging along, making their way south to avoid capture and imprisonment. I never saw an army so dispirited, so needy, and withal so determined not to give up the contest. I had read of Washington's army at Valley Forge, barefooted and leaving a trail of blood as they marched over frozen ground, and I said within myself, "History is repeating itself before my very eyes." I traveled on and on and fell in with two more horsemen going southward and after dark came we looked for a place to stop for the night. I suggested that we get off of the main road for fear that some of these barefooted soldiers might find and borrow our horses while we slept. We turned east and went one-half mile from the main road, found a house where lived a family by the name of Marbutt and soon we were made welcome and comfortable by being housed and fed and having our horses fed and fine prospects for a good bed and a fine night's rest. Our horses were put in the smokehouse very near the house so that

¹⁵The battle of Franklin was fought on November 30, 1864; that of Nashville on December 15-16.—C. W. R.

they would be safer than at the barn if anyone should undertake to steal them in the night, for there was much of that being done at this time. This was not very far from the Alabama state line, in Giles County, Tennessee.

Next morning on rising early I went to the smokehouse and found two of the horses gone, mine being one of them. Our saddles and bridles were undisturbed. We tried to trace them by following their tracks, but they had gone to the main traveled roads which were covered by millions of tracks of a passing army, so we had to abandon the search. I felt sure mine had been taken by some brokendown infantryman, who would think it fair to make me take turns with him in walking.

After our morning's search for horses had proven fruitless my two companions, one with a brokendown horse and outfit, the other one with outfit and no horse at all started out together to follow the retreating army, and I never saw them again. I was left alone at Mr. Marbutt's to consider my best course to pursue. I learned from some of the family, or by observation I don't know which, that there was a blind horse there in the barn, so I asked Mr. Marbutt if I could buy him. He said he was blind and didn't see how he would suit me, or really how he could do without him, but if I could raise thirty dollars good money, I might take him. So I looked over my finances and found I was short two and half dollars. So I told Mr. Marbutt I had only \$27.50 and would give up every cent of it for his horse. He said it was a trade so I handed him the money and took my bridle, saddle, and blanket, and put on him and took possession. He was four years old, good size, in fair condition, quite active, and not a blemish or defect except he was totally blind. I rode him all day following the retreating army until late in the evening, when I began to look out for a lodging place for the night. Houses were scarce and what there were in that section were mostly vacant. It was fearfully cold and I felt that I must be inside of some house or suffer greatly with the cold. I saw smoke coming out of the top of a cabin about one hundred yards from the road, and I rode up to it to learn the chances of being sheltered for the night. I found five or six infantry soldiers had taken possession of the cabin, which was empty, had torn up the floor in the mid-

dle of the same, made a fire down in the ground underneath, and were warming themselves, sitting on the floor with feet down over the fire. I asked permission to join them for the night. They readily consented and I remained with them until morning, tying my horse to the log house on the south side to protect him from the cold, and he and I passed the night without supper and next morning without breakfast.

The lady with whom I had boarded in Tennessee had fixed many things for my comfort and protection from the cold. Among other things a pair of heavy woolen socks to wear over my boots instead of overshoes, which were impossible to procure at that time. When we were dressing next morning, getting ready to move, a soldier remarked it looked hard to him to see a man with two pair of socks when he had none at all. I looked over the crowd a little bit and I saw they were all practically barefooted, so without a word in reply I stripped off these oversocks I had on, and handed them to the one speaking and said, "Gentlemen, I regret that I have not a pair for each of you." Next day I continued my journey south and coming to the Tennessee river late in the evening, I crossed over on a pontoon bridge prepared for use of the army. The following night I fell in with some cavalry of the 11th Tennessee regiment, the same being Captain Andrew Gordon's company, then commanded by Lieutenant James Edmundson, now living in Marshall County, Tennessee, about four miles east of Lynnville. I had been staying in the same neighborhood where many of this company were raised, and knew their families and kinfolks, so they made me entirely welcome and shared provisions and horse feed with me, making me as comfortable as they could. And now day after day I journeyed with the army southward, keeping a sharp lookout for my valuable black mare, but without success, finally reaching Columbus, Mississippi, where the army entrained for the East.

The exposure I had endured and change of diet and climate and habits, brought on an illness that kept me laid up for some days, when I found I had to go to bed for an indefinite period. I went out of town to a country doctor with a small family, with plenty of the world's goods and fair practice, who had been recommended to me, and applied to him for treatment and lodging for myself

and board for my horse. He kindly took me in and cared for me for some days until I felt myself able to travel again. Then I told the doctor and family I must be off for Columbus, Georgia, my objective point; that they had been wonderfully kind to me, which I greatly appreciated, and that I didn't have a cent of money with which to pay them, but that I had a good blind horse there, saddle, bridle, and blanket, all of which I would give them to pay for the care, treatment, and lodging they have given me. The doctor said that would satisfy him, and so we settled the debt and we parted good friends and everybody satisfied.

But I was completely strapped, only having now a little bundle of underclothing and a pistol, which a friend up in Tennessee had given me, and my journey was hardly begun. But I went cheerfully forward, thinking "A bad start may have a good ending." The Confederate government had established soup houses at convenient distances on the railroads to feed the soldiers in transit—I suppose for this particular army movement but I don't know. At any rate the train would stop two or three times each day for meals furnished free to soldiers. The meals were nearly entirely soup, pea soup or some other kind of vegetable in season at that time of year.

Nothing of especial interest happened until we reached Columbus, Georgia, after two or three days' travel. As soon as we pulled into the depot I asked the direction and road to the exchange camp, and with all the haste and speed I could muster, walked out to it, about one and one-half miles from town. When I reached there I found the place very well provided with shelter, bunks to sleep in with long dining tables and other things for taking care of prisoners, but entirely deserted except for a colored woman who was employed by the military authorities to cook for prisoners who were being kept for exchange. The cook announced to me at once that the prisoners were all exchanged and had gone and she was remaining there for a time to see if any more would be sent in. This was a sore disappointment indeed for me who had so constantly expected an exchange and freedom from further obligations imposed by my parole of honor.

I returned at once to town and hunted up the commandant of the post. At this stage of the Civil War the authorities had ap-

pointed at every principal city in the South a commandant of the post, and the whole country was under martial law and each particular section under the military control of the local commandant. I showed my papers, my parole and papers from General Hood, and told him of my disappointment. He expressed his regret and seemed to sympathized with me. We talked over current events for a while and the gloomy prospects of our army's success at that juncture, and after awhile he asked me what I wanted to do. I told him without hesitation and frankly I wanted to go to my command if he could tell me where to find it and could give me transportation. He replied, "Your command is now north of Savannah, Georgia, across the river in South Carolina, confronting General Sherman's army, which is getting ready to move up through South Carolina for her destruction, and if you want to go I will give you transportation wherever we have any. The railroads are torn up some places and you will have to do the best you can over those skips where there are no cars running."

So I made another start eastward on a train and I don't recall just how far we traveled before we had to walk. Another straggling soldier or two had fallen in with me by this time, all trying to reach their command further east, and they walked with me for miles, ten or fifteen or more. Now a new trouble overtook me. One of my wounded limbs having not gotten sufficiently strong for the journey began to fail and I had to let my late companions in travel leave me alone, so I rested and limped on and on as well as I could until I passed over the gap. The soup houses had given out now, and I had to depend upon strangers in a strange land for support.

One night I stayed in a neatly built log house, two or three women and some children living there alone. I remember they used what they called "light'ud" for illuminating purposes. They seemed to have plenty of plain food to live on and some to spare. I recall a conversation occurring at the table at supper. The lady of the house asked me where I was from. I told her "Texas." She said, "Well, well, from the far Texas." I said "Yes." She replied that she always thought she would like to live in Texas. After a little silence she asked me if we had any "light'ud" there.

I said not in the section where I lived, but in other sections there was plenty of it. She remarked she would not live in any country where there was no light wood.

Now my journey was one of variations, sometimes on a railroad, sometimes on a wagon going my way, and sometimes afoot; but I continued with a firm set purpose to reach my command and finally succeeded in doing so, somewhere in the southern part of the State of South Carolina. My comrades rejoiced at my return to them. They were all so blackened by pine smoke it was difficult to recognize them. My heart ached when I inquired for many with whom I soldiered in former times, when the response would be dead, or disabled from wounds, or disease and discharge. My comrade Street, with whom I left in charge my \$250 mare, my saddle, blanket, spurs and pistols had been killed on a hazardous scout and my belongings had fallen into the hands of the enemy when he fell. Many changes had taken place. Officers to fill vacancies caused by death, discharge or promotion were no longer elected by the men, but went up by virtue of seniority of rank. My old captain had been promoted to be major of the regiment, leaving the captaincy in the company vacant, and awaiting my return to fill it, as I was next in rank in the company. The second lieutenant, A. J. Murray, was in command of the company.

I reported my arrival to Generals Wheeler and Hampton, then commanding all the cavalry forces in South Carolina, showed them my parole of honor and gave them the details of my efforts to get exchanged and of my travels. They commended me for abiding by the terms of my parole and told me to remain with my company and they would arrange for a private exchange for me, so I could take charge of my company again.

Now commenced with me a new experience in my life. There were no wagons now belonging to the cavalry to carry their cooking utensils and camp equipage and to afford a safe refuge for the non-combatants as formerly, but each company had a pack mule upon which was carried the frying pans for the company and a soldier or a negro cook to lead the mule during the day, following the company constantly except when engaged in battle. An oil cloth was used instead of bread trays, and a flat rail or

board used for the baker, and when a rail or board was not available a limb cut from any tree was trimmed up and held over the fire with dough wound around it to cook. The potatoes, the only abundant article of food to be had, were roasted in the fire. I ate and slept with the company, and when the battle came on I was herded with this frying-pan lead-horse crowd until the firing ceased. This was the most disagreeable experience I had during the war. I urged the officers to hasten the exchange if possible, and so they offered to exchange a major of Kilpatrick's staff for me; but General Sherman refused to do it when he learned what command I belonged to, remarking, as I heard, if he had any one of that command fastened he would not release him for anyone, and so I had another disappointment. Now it is proper and fair to tell why General Sherman should refuse to swap a Texas Ranger for one of his own men of higher rank.

Captain Shannon had become chief of scouts for the Southern army, and he and his command were Texas Rangers, or most of them were, and were known as Texas Ranger scouts; and they became quite efficient in killing Yankees without capturing any they found burning houses or insulting women, which was the daily habit of Sherman's men as they marched through South Carolina with torch, rapine and devilish lust. General Sherman in retaliation for what the Texas Rangers were doing and had done put sixty prisoners in irons and threatened to execute them. General Hampton heard of this threat, sent a flag of truce to Sherman for a conference with a view of saving the lives of those prisoners in irons. General Sherman complained that the acts of these Rangers were not in accordance with the rule of international warfare, but uncivilized butchering. General Hampton's reply, as I now remember the published reports of the conference at the time, was that he had observed all rules of international or honorable warfare, but when his antagonists engaged in burning down the houses over the heads of women and children, and non-combatants, without provocation, and in insulting and raping the helpless women of the land, he would order his men in all such cases to kill without mercy everyone so engaged and if he wished to retaliate by executing prisoners, he (Hampton) would enter the same game, taking two of Sherman's men for every one Sherman

executed and in every case giving his (Sherman's) officers the preference.¹⁶ General Sherman saw his bluff could not be carried out for the reason, perhaps, that twice or three times as many Yankee prisoners were captured daily as were taken from the Confederates, for our scouts were exceedingly active, being on all sides of the enemy almost daily, while the Federals were straggling all out from the main body, trying to desolate South Carolina, because they regarded her as exceedingly wicked in being the first State to secede from the Union. The irons were promptly removed from the prisoners and they were sent in to our camps without the formality of exchange. These poor fellows came into the camps full of wrath against the Rangers for their murderous acts and said, "You men think it fine sport, but if you had to take our chances as hostages you would play the game differently." But their wrath and injunctions were wasted on their audience, for the Texans were fully decided as far as possible to protect the honor and property of helpless people against the vandalism and destruction of an unprincipled antagonist, whose main ambition seemed to be to make the Southern people realize that war was hell as their leader was accustomed to say to them. Just what there was in the truce conference held to cause the release of the prisoners may be only surmised, but why General Sherman refused to make the exchange sought seemed manifest at the time to parties most interested.

The ravages of war were fearful to behold. Any one could stand upon an eminence in the morning and tell by the smoke from burning buildings just how far east and west General Sherman's line of march extended. From the daily reports, which we believed authentic, every living animal for use or food was taken from the citizens, including all kinds of fowls, and their smoke-houses and pantries were stripped, and when the women and children would appeal to General Sherman for food he would tell them to call on their people in the northern part of the State. There was just one article of food they could neither destroy nor carry off and that was sweet potatoes, of which there was an

¹⁶This correspondence may be found in *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLVII, Part II, pp. 546, 596.—C. W. R.

abundant crop the season before which must have been the means of keeping the dependent population from starvation.

Of all the campaigns made during the Civil War by either Northern or Southern armies, none had more of devastation and cruelty and inhumanity than this one led by W. T. Sherman across South Carolina, during the winter and spring of 1865. And no other campaign equaled this one for its barbarity except perhaps Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea. After his army reached Savannah, Georgia, Sherman made his report to the Secretary of War, in which he said he had made Georgia realize that war was hell and that he had devastated a country fifty miles wide and two hundred miles long so completely that if a crow visited that section he would have to carry his rations with him or starve. This report was published at the time and is now doubtless among the war records today.¹⁷

This incident will probably bring to the mind of the student of history how Nero fiddled and danced while Rome burned up. Sherman left Atlanta with an army of between fifty and one hundred thousand men for his campaign through Georgia and the Carolinas, opposed only in Georgia by Wheeler's cavalry, reinforced by other cavalry forces under General Hampton, McLaws and other local commands when he started through South Carolina, not enough at any time to resist his progress materially, but enough perhaps to delay his movements somewhat while he repaired the bridges destroyed by the Confederates and enough to keep his men reasonably closed up in solid columns and thus saving from destruction some of the districts near his line of march. This marching of Sherman's army accompanied by the burning of houses in the country and of the towns and villages passed, and the general destruction of property continued without variation or cessation worthy of mention until he reached the capital of the State, which shared the same fate as other towns in the line of march.

But at this juncture General Sherman published a report in the papers that General Hampton had burned Columbia; and while no soldier in either army in South Carolina believed it, yet

¹⁷For Sherman's account of his march to the sea, see his *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 171-229; also *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIV, pp. 7-14.—C. W. R.

there were others who did give that published report credit. Of this latter class was one, writing in Nelson's Encyclopedia, who in speaking of this destruction of Columbia said, "The charge that he ordered the burning of Columbia, South Carolina, has been completely disproved," leaving the impression on the reading world that Sherman's charge against General Hampton was true. It seems strange that one who presumes to write history should be so careless about facts. Now why should anyone conclude that a man who had spent months in destroying and burning everything in a devastating campaign should be relieved or exonerated of the charge of burning Columbia, the goal of his ambition and cherished conquest of his military career. Besides this process of reasoning, to fix the blame on General Sherman, I have seen published a report that I deem reliable, that General Sherman published in his memoirs before he died that he charged General Hampton with burning Columbia in order to discredit him with the people of South Carolina, his native State. I have never seen those memoirs and cannot vouch for the truth of this report, but it seems reasonable and much in keeping with General Sherman's character.¹⁸

John G. Haynie of Company F, as good a soldier as ever Texas sent to war, was drowned in Saluda river at Columbia the same day the city was burned. Haynie had rarely ever missed a battle, had been wounded two or three times, and had no hope or expectation of ever going home again, as he confided to me only a few days before his death. I asked him why he should take such a gloomy view of the future. His answer was, "This war may last ten years, and I am not going to shirk a duty or miss a battle if I can possibly help it; and I know it is only a matter of a short time when everyone who does this way will meet his final call. Judge the future by the past. Look for the best soldiers of Company F. Where are they? Most of them have answered their last roll call, and I can't hope for a different fate."

While Sherman was making desolate these regions the army of Tennessee was collecting in North Carolina near Raleigh or rather in that section of the State, for the purpose of meeting Sherman's march northward. General Joe Johnston, who had

¹⁸This confession is in Sherman's *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 287.—C. W. R.

been succeeded by General Hood at Atlanta, was restored to the army of Tennessee while said army was near Smithville, North Carolina. I never saw a demonstration to equal that made in honor of his return. Nearly a whole day was consumed by the army in cheering and shouting over this event. The army had nearly been destroyed by Hood's manipulation of it, and the remnants were wholly dispirited by the misfortunes that had befallen our cause, and having great confidence in General Johnston as a leader and successful warrior, they showed renewed enthusiasm and determination by the magnificent reception accorded him.

A week or ten days later General Johnston moved his army out to meet Sherman in his onward march and met him at Bentonville, North Carolina, and engaged him in battle which lasted two days, March 19-21, 1865. It was furious and bloody from the beginning and to a spectator it seemed that the Confederates had the advantage on all parts of the field. I had no special duty to perform, being on parole. I was exposed several times to the enemy's fire when I ventured too near to watch the battle or to help carry the wounded from the field.

During the first day the Texas Rangers lost. In the first charge they made every field officer they had, Colonel Cook, Lieutenant Colonel Christian and Major Jarmon, was badly wounded. In after years Cook died from this wound. The other two recovered after the war ended.

Doc. Mathews, a mere boy, captain of Company K, being senior captain now with the regiment succeeded to the command of the regiment and won unperishable fame by making a successful charge on the 17th Army Corps of the enemy, driving them in great confusion from a bridge they were ready to seize. This bridge was the only available crossing of a deep sluggish stream around our army on its west and south sides, and in case of its capture by the enemy in front our army would have been cooped up and forced to surrender. Our ammunition and supplies had to come to us over that bridge. The enemy fully realized the importance of its capture and approached near to it without being discovered, with a whole corps of infantry. The Rangers, being the nearest Confederate troops to this point, were ordered by General Hardee, who was nearby reconnoitering that part of the

field, to drive them back. With a charge rarely equaled and never surpassed in impetuosity and daring, the Texans under Doc. Mathews' leadership threw themselves upon that corps of infantry with a recklessness that indicated do or die on their part. The enemy were greatly confused and wavered for a moment and then began to give back. The Texans still pressing were reinforced by Brown's brigade of Tennesseans, I think, and the two commands combined drove the enemy clear off the field and the bridge was saved to us for our use.

The toll of the Texas regiment was heavy in the killed and wounded, but the charge was a success, as most of its charges were. It was reported that General Johnston said he would compliment that regiment in a general order, but owing I suppose to the great confusion in military quarters and the fast changing of operations just previous to final surrender, the complimentary order and the official report of this battle were never written so far as I know. This was the last battle of the Tennessee army of any consequence. In this last charge General Hardee had a son killed, about 17 years of age. The boy had been in military school at Milledgeville, Georgia. The dash and success of the Texas Rangers challenged his ambition. He left school without permission, came to the army, sought out the Rangers and offered his services in their ranks. His presence and desires were made known to General Hardee who sent him back to school at Milledgeville. He made his escape from school again and came to us during the battle of Bentonville. He was again reported to General Hardee by Captain Kyle of Company D of the Rangers. Hardee said to Kyle "Swear him into service in your company as nothing else will satisfy." Kyle enrolled him in his company. About four hours after this time this fatal charge was made and he fell dead in sight of his father, who had come out to see the charge made. Of course I cannot recall many of the casualties that happened in that battle, but one other case is so fixed in my memory that I feel constrained to mention it.

Eugene Munger of Company B of the Rangers had escaped the missiles of death so long, not even receiving a wound from the enemy, though always in the thickest of the fight, that he had become a fatalist, and often said that he didn't believe a

Yankee bullet was ever molded to kill him. In that charge a bullet went crashing through his brain, and he never knew what killed him. So much for fatalism, so much sometimes in presentiment. I have known other cases where these things failed in realization.

One other thing in connection with this famous charge. General McLaws from the Virginia army witnessed it. He said he had soldiered with "Jeb" Stuart on his many exploits in Virginia and Maryland, but had never witnessed a charge equal in efficiency and results to this one.

The great battle of Bentonville was now over, both sides badly punished. Sherman's hitherto unimpeded progress was checked, and he gave his time and energy to recruiting and repairing his army, and General Johnston to organization and moving leisurely towards Greensboro, North Carolina. In the meantime the Virginia army was surrendered at Appomatox, and General Grant's army moved south to make a junction with Sherman's army and to force the surrender of General Johnston which finally took place at Greensboro. Just before the armistice between the two armies, Johnston's and Sherman's, took place, one other incident of interest might be related pertaining to the Texas Rangers.

They were camped out on Haw river, or some tributary of it, near a bridge over a stream. Pickets between them and the enemy had been removed during the night without their knowledge. Next morning about sunrise a regiment or more of the enemy's cavalry came across that bridge into the edge of our camps, while all the regiment were asleep except five or six men who had saddled their horses to go out for forage. These raised a shout, made a dash at the enemy, thus awakening the balance of the regiment, who instantly grabbed their guns without any orders; everyone for himself, and gave them such a reception as to send them pell mell back the road over which they came. So far as I now remember this was the last firing by any part of Johnston's army, and so the Terry Texas Rangers had fought the first and last battles of the army of Tennessee; the first at Woodsonville, Kentucky, the last near Haw river, North Carolina.

Not long after this Captain Doc. Mathews, now commanding the Texas Rangers visited General Hardee's headquarters to learn

what he might about the current events of the day. General Hardee was a favorite of the regiment, and the regiment was a favorite of his. He told Mathews of the situation pending; that Grant was moving upon us from the north and Sherman's army had approached us from the south and east, and General Stoneman had 10,000 cavalry on Catawba river southwest of us, and that while he had nothing official on the subject, he felt satisfied the army would be surrendered right there. He also advised Mathews to take his regiment away from there and join Dick Taylor's army then at Mobile, Alabama, and by thus adding strength from different sections to that army, under the providence of God victory might finally come to the Southern cause, and added, "I don't want to see your regiment surrendered to the enemy."

Captain Mathews returned to camp at midnight and had the bugler sound the assembly call for the regiment, and when it was assembled he delivered Hardee's information and advice and concluded his remarks with these words, "I am too young a man to assume the responsibility of such an undertaking, but I now offer my resignation as commander of the regiment," asking each company commander to take charge of his company. "Hold a council to determine your course, and each company decide and act for itself regardless of what others may do."

Company F, my company, returned to quarters, held its conference and decided unanimously to go to Dick Taylor and to start at once. Some of the company, including the commissioned officers, were absent on police or scout or other duties or on account of sickness, and were not in this conference and hence were left behind when we started to leave. C. D. Barnett, our orderly sergeant, agreed to be commander and I agreed to be "counselor" for the expedition. I never did learn definitely the course the other companies pursued, but had the impression fixed upon me that most of them made their escape and were never paroled until after all Confederates had surrendered, and some of them were never paroled at all, but are still, so to say, soldiers of the Confederate government. Some parties, making out as best they could a roster of the regiment, since the war, in speaking of this surrender of the troops said that two hundred and forty-eight Rangers

answered to roll call the day before the surrender, but only two of them surrendered next day. I think this is erroneous, but indicates how much the Rangers opposed surrendering to the enemy. Captain Tom Weston, last commander of Company H of the Rangers, wrote to me some years after the war closed and said among other things that he had the honor of surrendering the regiment at Greensboro, and that there were ninety men present who received paroles. I think this statement is reliable.

About fifteen or eighteen members of Company F at one o'clock in the morning began their journey south for Mobile. We went through Greensboro. Brigadier General Harrison of our brigade heard of our movement and sent for us to come to see him, where he was laid up with recent wounds received in battle, and when we drew up in front of the house, he came out on his crutches and made us a speech. He commended our movement heartily and regretted only that he was unable to accompany us. Then with many tears and benedictions he bade us Godspeed with God's blessing and a loving farewell to his faithful comrades who were, according to his words, the heroes of 300 battles.

From Greensboro we went the most direct way to Catawba river. We employed a guide to show us a private ford, knowing that all public crossings were heavily guarded by Stoneman's cavalry. Our guide rode with us all night and towards daylight we left the main road, took a by-path which took us to the river by sun-up where our guide pointed out to us the ford, telling us we would have to swim twenty or thirty feet in the middle of the stream, and ascend on far side up a little trail leading up the bank. Thus instructed we dismissed our guide and moved forward. Having crossed the river and ascended the bank we found a cabin up on the bank and a lane leading out to the main road, which ran up and down the river two hundred yards or more distant.

Soon after leaving the cabin we saw about twenty Yankee cavalry coming in the other end of the lane meeting us. They were some of Stoneman's men patrolling up and down the river to intercept Confederate soldiers trying to make their way south. I was in the rear of our company, which halting for a moment asked me what to do, I said, "Move forward quietly and when within ten steps of them raise a yell and charge them with your pistols

in hand and demand their surrender." They were surprised at the unexpected charge and surrendered without firing a gun. Now with twenty prisoners, well mounted, and well armed, we moved forward at a lively gait, crossed the main road, went through the woods, fields and pastures, until we had many miles between us and Stoneman's command. We traveled on and on, going south until nine o'clock at night, when we began to feel the need of rest, and began to consider what was best to do with our prisoners. I suggested to my men to take their horses, arms and munitions, parole them, and turn them loose to return to the command afoot, so building up a fire of pine knots, the paroles were soon written for each one and signed up. We then took possession of their horses and equipage, bade them good-night and we moved on several miles further and camped.

Next day we continued our travels south, taking from Confederate commissaries and quartermasters' stores in the towns we came to such food and feed as we needed. The officers in charge of such stores sometimes objected, saying that Johnston's army had surrendered and that they had been ordered to turn over these supplies to Federal authorities. I gave them choice of opening their storehouses where provisions were stored or having them broken open. They unlocked them and told us to help ourselves. I told them after they had supplied the Confederates' wants they might turn over the residue to Federal authority; that we were regular Confederates and were eating Confederate food and using Confederate forage.

Not many days later we learned that General Taylor had surrendered his army¹⁹ to Federal authorities without a single battle, and we were confronted with new difficulties. Another council of war or of procedure was necessary on our part, so we decided to turn west and cross the Mississippi river by private ferries and offer our services to General Kirby Smith commanding the Trans-Mississippi department. Still another difficulty arose, for we had now reached that desolated strip which General Sherman's army had made on his famous march to the sea, and it was exceedingly difficult to obtain supplies for a company of men. We then divided into squads of three or four men in each, with

¹⁹May 4, 1865.—C. W. R.

the promise to meet on the east side of the river to reunite there and go in a body across the river to General Smith's army. Being separated into smaller bodies we more easily found subsistence. Thus we all traveled westward on widely differing routes. As we began to gather in Mississippi, still a new obstacle to our progress was presented. We had hoped to use canoes or skiffs in crossing the river, swimming our horses beside them, a custom that prevailed in that section after the public crossings had fallen into the hands of the enemy. This could be done when the river was at its ordinary stage or depth very successfully; but now what was termed the June rise was on, caused by the melting of ice far up North and the spring rains, and the river was thirty to forty miles wide, making it impossible for our mode of crossing for a month at least, perhaps more. So we must await the falling of the waters before we could cross over.

While lying up and waiting Tom Gill, Peter Arnold, John Justice and I concluded we would take a run up into middle Tennessee, where we all had sweethearts whom we desired to visit. So after forging some paroles for Justice, Gill and Arnold we made our start for Tennessee. Now I don't wish to make the impression that I forged these paroles for the boys, for I did not, but they found other men on parole down there in Mississippi and copied them substituting their own names in place of the one on parole. Thus equipped, well mounted, and armed with our side arms we started for Tennessee. As we approached Wayland Springs in Lawrence County, Tennessee, we unexpectedly at a short turn in the road rode into a regiment of Yankee cavalry who were dismounted and seemed to be resting under some trees by the roadside. We halted for a moment and I said, "Forward, boys, and look for the commander of these troops." So pretty soon Colonel Blank was pointed out to us by the troopers and we rode boldly up to him, all of us saluting, when Tom Gill became spokesman for us, and said, "Colonel, we are Confederate soldiers on parole, going up farther in Tennessee to visit our friends before we proceed to our homes in the West." In the meantime we all drew out our paroles for the colonel's inspection, and Gill continued his speech, saying, "You see, Colonel, we have our side arms. These are for our own personal protec-

tion, as Federal officers in Mississippi advised us that if we came to Tennessee we would find bands of outlaws, horse thieves, etc., plentiful, and we ought to have some defence against these."

After examination of two of the paroles, the colonel bade us to proceed on our journey.

This was about six or eight miles south of Wayland Springs, which was the regular camping place for this regiment, as we learned later in the day. These springs as it happened were on the road we were traveling. After sundown as we approached these springs that evening, a sentinel on guard called out to "Halt! Halt!" several times, to which we paid no heed, but kept riding on towards him. When we drew near this sentinel was furious and cursed us vigorously and threatened to shoot us. His calling to us and cursing us aroused the curiosity of his comrades back in camp, so they, eight or ten of them, came out to the road to see what the trouble was. They first discovered we were Confederate soldiers, and one discovered we were on McClellan saddles and said, "Why, they are using our saddles," meaning we were riding saddles the Federal army used for their cavalry, and then another one called out, "Why, they are armed with pistols; look at them." Then I said, "Yes, we have our pistols and all of us know exactly how to use them, so you need not trouble yourselves further about trying to halt us, for we are going on," and bade them good-night, and rode on. It may be but fair to state that they had come out to the road without their guns and as the vidette only was armed and we had two six-shooters each, they simply acted wisely and judiciously by letting us pass on, without molestation. This was my last personal interview with the Yankee soldier.

Next day we reached Giles County, and as some of the crowd wished to go on up to Franklin County and on to Maury County while I wanted to stop in Giles County, we separated with the understanding we would meet at my stopping place to begin our western trip after the Mississippi river had gone down sufficiently. Pretty soon, after this date, Generals Lee, Johnston, and Taylor, having surrendered, the future for our independence seemed so unpromising to General Kirby Smith's army that they simply broke camps and went home without awaiting any enemy to ask

them to surrender. So their final act in this fearful drama was called "The Breakup" and is still so-called.

In our last contact with the Yankee troops down in Lawrence County I did not endorse Mr. Gill's speech to them, for it was only one-fourth correct, since I was the only one that had a genuine parole, but he proceeded on the theory, I suppose, that "all things are fair in war."

The war was now over, our dream of an independent Confederate government was passed. Overwhelming numbers with inexhaustible supplies had triumphed over a half-fed scantily supplied army, greatly inferior in numbers. I am reliably informed that war records of this period will show to parties seeking correct history that the Confederate enrollment of soldiers was 600,000 in all, while the enlistment on the other side was 2,800,000, or more than four to one in favor of the Northern army. In addition to this, all Southern ports were blockaded by the Federal government, so it seems wonderful even yet that this war could have continued four years with this great inequality of advantages.

Personally I had been loyal to the Confederate government, had done the best I could, had offered my life, endured privations and shed my blood freely; had no apologies to make for my action, and still believed and now believe we were right and engaged in the cause of human liberty as did our forefathers in other years. I do not know certainly, and do not want to know how many men I killed or how many I wounded. I only know I had many fine opportunities to do both. I wear four scars on my body from Yankee bullets that will go with me to my grave, but I regard them as scars of honor received in defense of the Southland, and am proud of them. I thank God that I can forgive and pray for my former enemies and that I entertain no ill will towards any of them at this time.

In the foregoing pages I have in a plain way told where I served and when I served in the Confederate army, together with many incidents connected therewith. I have tried at all times to be accurate, and fair and loyal to the truth. It now remains for me according to first intention as announced in the beginning of this record to tell just why I served the cause with such fidelity. I might answer this question with one word "Patriotism." I be-

lieved the South right in her contentions and in her actions in seceding from the government and setting up for itself. According to the Constitution, Amendment X, the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States were reserved to the States respectively. These independent States never delegated their powers to make or unmake governments to the general government, so if they ever had the right of choosing in this matter and had not delegated it to others, they still possessed it. These independent Colonies, or States, had never lodged in the hands of the general government the right to make war on any one of its members. Secession it was said was advocated by Abraham Lincoln in a speech in Congress as a right belonging to the States respectively. Massachusetts threatened secession when the government purchased Louisiana from France, because, as her people argued, the price paid was extravagant. Fanaticism in the Northern States caused them to pass fugitive slave laws in violation of the Constitution, in Article IV and latter part of Section II, and when reminded of this violation the usual answer was, "The Constitution is a compact with the Devil and in a league with Hell." They brought on war and bloodshed in Kansas because some United States citizens had moved to Kansas and took their slaves with them, as I now remember. The same fanaticism sent emissaries through the South to raise insurrection among the blacks, and to incite them to bloodshed and murder and when one of those was condemned and hanged for his murderous deeds, those fanatics held great public funerals over the North, proclaiming him a martyr to the cause of human welfare and to the holy service of God.

In addition to all of these things this same element increased in strength and power until it was able to elect a President and a Congress of the U. S. from its members and what could the South expect but humiliation and destruction of her institutions from such a set?

The time had come when we believed we could not live peaceably with them. Therefore, we preferred to secede and form a government of our own, which we thought we had a right to do. We did not demand any of the public treasure or public lands or any of the community property of the government of which

we rightfully owned a part, but simply seceded from disagreeable company and set up a government of our own and asked only to be let alone. I doubt if a constitutional lawyer could have been found at that time who would have said we did not have a right to secede and I doubt if you can find a constitutional lawyer to-day who understands the organic law of the government who will say that we had no right to secede. Then where did this power lie or come from authorizing Abraham Lincoln to make war on and devastate the Southern States?

There is another viewpoint that justifies the South in going to war. Self-preservation is the first law of nature and a people who would not fight to defend their homes and firesides are not worthy of freedom or respect. I love the South and her institutions and I went out to help defend them and to help if possible drive the destroyers from our borders, and old as I am now, if such a catastrophe should happen again to our beloved land, I am ready to offer my life, my fortune, and sacred honor in her defense.

CONCLUSION

It is self-evident from the foregoing writings in these sketches that if the writer were asked to fix the responsibility of the Civil War he would say, without hesitation, Abraham Lincoln, his ill advisors and coadjutors were responsible for all of the bloodshed, the deaths, the horrors and devastation of that war. But as another Judge, the Judge of all the earth who will do right, has jurisdiction over these and all other human affairs, the writer is willing to leave these and all other things for Him to adjudicate.

MINUTES OF THE AYUNTAMIENTO OF SAN FELIPE
DE AUSTIN, 1828-1832

IV

EDITED BY EUGENE C. BARKER

In the Town of San Felipe de Austin on the 14th day of July 1830. An extraordinary meeting of the Ayuntamto convoked by the President thereof for the purpose of adopting measures regulating the approaching electoral municipal assemblies which by the constitution must take place on the first Sunday of next August for the purpose of electing Twenty one Electors, who are to vote at the Capitol of this Departmt, for Governor, Vice Govr. two members of the State Legislature and an Elector to vote for a Deputy in the General Congress. Present: Thomas Barnett President.—H. H. League 1st Regidr. [p. 10] Walter C. White 2d Regidr and Wm. Pettus Sindico Procuradr. The Ayuntamto in conformity with the faculties granted them by the 49th article of the State Constitution²⁵ relative to the number of municipal electoral assemblies necessary for this Jurisdiction, in order that the citizens may convene with the greatest facility to vote, have thot proper to order the following municipal assemblies.

1. At the Town of Austin to be presided by the Alcalde
- 2d At Wm. Robinsons on the Colorado to be presided by Wm
Robinson
- 3d At Gonzales to be presided by Empreso [Empresario] De
Witt.
- 4th At Andrew Robinsons at the LaBahia crossing, Presd. Jno.
P. Coles
- 5th At Lawce [Lawrence] Ramys to be presided by John Huff.
- 6th At Brazoria to be presided by John Austin.
- 7th At Harrisburgh to be presided by Saml C. Hiram.
- 8th At Jesse Carthwright presided by said Cartwright.

²⁵“Art. 49. That the citizens may more conveniently attend, each ayuntamiento, according to the locality and population of its territory, shall determine the number of municipal assemblies to be formed within its limits, and the public places where they shall be holden, designating to each the places corresponding thereto.”

The President of the Ayuntamiento or the Regidor who may exercise the faculties of the President shall immediately give public notice of said Elections in the manner he may deem most proper, so that notice may circulate in the remote parts of the municipality. And he will also furnish to those persons who are appointed to preside the various Elections the necessary forms and instructions to enable them to hold the Election in conformity with the laws.

The Ayuntamiento then ordered, that as there was an order issued for a meeting of this body on Monday the 19th inst: all further business be deferred until that day, and the Ayuntamiento adjourned until the 19th inst: *Approved.*

Samuel M. Williams

Thos. Barnett

Srio Into

Prest

[p. 11] In the Town of San Felipe de Austin on the 19th day of July 1830. The Ayunto met according to the adjournment of the 5th inst. in extraordinary meeting. Present: Thos Barnett President—H. H. League 1st Regidor Walter C. White 2d Regidor Wm Pettus Sindico Procurador.

On motion of Wm. Pettus Sindico Procurador ordered that from the Ayuntamiento an official letter be addressed to Mr. George Fisher inviting him to accept the office of Secretary of this Ayuntamiento in case his other duties and avocations will permit him to do so, and the said official letter having been written and forwarded to the said Fisher, he in answer consented to accept the office of Secry provisionally, in consideration of the uncertainty whether or not his services might be required by the Genl Governt on account of his having been appointed Admr of the Customhouse of Galveston, the Establishment of which has been suspended for the present.—

It was therefore ordered by the Ayuntamiento that the offer of his services as tendered by Mr. Fisher be accepted, and he is hereby appointed Secry: of the Ayunto which appointment shall be provisional as the circumstances of Mr. Fisher may require.

A petition addressed to the supreme Tribunal of Justice by Citizen Samuel M. Williams praying to be appointed Notary Public, was presented by said Williams with a Solicitation that the Ayuntamiento would be pleased to report on the same. And whereas

the Ayuntamto have full confidence in the honor and integrity of said Williams as well as in his attitude and capacity—Order that a favorable [p. 12] report of the Ayuntamto be put on the said petition and it returned to said Williams for the purposes that may suit him and to be forwarded to the said Tribunal

It was also ordered by the Ayuntamto that a copy of the official letter addressed to this body by the Chief of Depart. on the subject of land comissioners be passed to the Empresario Stephen F. Austin, in order to comply with the Superior Resolution.

The Ayuntamto adjourned to the next regular meeting in August next.—Approved.—

Samuel M. Williams

Thos. Barnett

Srio Into

Prest

In the town of San Felipe de Austin, on the 2d day of August 1830. The Ayunto in conformity with the Municipal ordinances met in regular meeting. Present: Thos. Barnett President. H. H. League 1st Regidor—Walter C. White 2d Regidor.

The president stated that whereas this day being one of the days of election, held in conformity with the 48th Article of the constitution of the state the regular meeting of this Body is adjourned to the 4th day of the present month. And the meeting was accordingly closed—Approved—

George Fisher Thos. Barnett

Secy pro tempo Prest

[p. 13] In the Town of San Felipe de Austin on the 4th day of August 1830. The Ayunto met pursuant to the adjournment of the 2d inst. in regular meeting. Present: Thos. Barnett President, H. H. League 1st Regidor. Walter C. White 2d Regidor. Wm. Pettus Sindico Procurador.

The minutes of the regular and extraordinary meetings of this body held on the 5th 14th and 19th of July, and the 2d inst. were read considered and severally adopted.

The President presented to the Ayuntamto a Report of the sale of the town and outlots held on the 31 day of July last, in conformity with the resolution of this body to that effect, at the regular meeting, held on the 5th day of July last which is in the manner following:

“In the town of San Felipe de Austin on the 31st day of July

1830—Agreably to previous notice given by the Alcalde of this Jurisdiction, and in conformity with the Resolution of the Ayuntamiento of said Municipality a sale of Town and outlots took place this day at the Alcaldes office in this town, when the following purchasers bought the lots, as specified, and attached to their names. George Fisher bought six town lots Nos 139-140-141-184-185-186 at \$15 pr. lot amounting to \$90 Dollars which lots were sold on the 15th day of December last to Robt. Peebles, and forfeited for non compliance of the conditions of sale.

James Whiteside bought two town lots Nos 128 and 129 for Fourty Dollars (\$40) which lots were sold to George Dennett on the 15th day of Dec. last and forfeited for non compliance with the conditions of sale.

[p. 14] Thomas Barnett for the use of the Ayuntamiento bot. two town lots Nos 79 and 80. for Twenty one Dollars, sold on the 15th Dec. last to C. Burg, and forfeited for the same reason. \$21—

William H. Jack bought one Out lot No. 38 for Thirty one Dollars (\$31) sold on the 15th Dec. last to Geo. B. McKinstry and forfeited for the same reasons.

The above report was considered, and approved, and it was ordered that the President of this Ayunto be authorized and empowered to ajust the accounts of the former purchasers of the above mentioned town and out lots, by collecting or by paying any deficiencies of overplus, which may have resulted in the price of the lots sold on the 15th day of Dec. and on the 31 July last and that he shall issue formal process against all those that may refuse to make good the deficiencies resulted by the two different sales held, for the sale of the above town and out lots.—

The Report of the Road Commissioners Saml. C. Hiram Martin Allen, and Randal Johns [Jones] authorising them to lay out a road from San Felipe to Harrisburg [sic], was taken up, and deferred to the next meeting of the Ayunto.

The memorial of John G. Holtham, praying the adjustment of his account with this body was taken up, and ordered that the sum of Fifty Dollars be paid to him for his services as Secy to this body for the time being, and a further sum of two Dollars and a half was allowed to him, for the binding of a book for Records and for some stationary—making in all Fifty two Dlls. and a half, and

the President of this Ayunto was authorized to satisfy the said sum to the petitioner.

[p. 15] Ordered that the sum of Five Dollars be allowed to Florence Stak for a Bookcase.

Ordered that the sum of Nineteen Dollars be paid to Saml M. Williams Post Master of this town in full for the subscription and postage for the "Official Register," a Newspaper printed at the City of Mexico—for the present year agreeably to the official communication of the 13 May 1830 directed by the Chief of this Depart. to this Ayuntamto.

Ordered that the President of this Ayunto be empowered and he is hereby requested to proceed to the Collection of the amount due to this Body by John C. Reed, for the ferry rent, for the ferry in front of the town of Austin, and his securities according to the bond given in favor of this Ayuntamto for the year 1829—also for the collection of One Hundred Dlls more, amount awarded against him by this body for failing to deliver at the Expiration of the year 1829 of a good and substantial ferry flat boat, according to the specifications made to that effect, in sd Bond.

Ordered: that the Citizens of this Municipality be called on for a voluntary subscription in money or produce to create a fund now undertaken by the General Governt. for the purpose of supporting, arming and clothing the National Army, in case of an invasion of the country by the Spanish troops, to be paid in money or country produce for the collection of which subscription, the following citizens are appointed viz:

Lucas Lesassier. At San Felipe de Austin. at Brazoria Shubael March. Sindico of that Precinct.

[p. 16] At Harrisburgh Wm. D. Dunlap.

At Colorado Rawson Ally.

At Bay Prairie. Thomas M. Duke.

At Fort Settlement. Randal Jones.

At North Brasos John P. Cole.

A Committee of three were appointed to draft a plan of collecting said contribution in the most practicable and economical way, to which were named L. Lessassier, Saml M. Williams, and Jorge Fisher.

Ordered that the Citizens of this Municipality be invited to join this Ayuntamto in the celebration of the Aniversary of the Na-

tional independence on the 16 September next, and a Committee was appointed to draft the plan of the mode in which said celebration shall take place, to which were named Col. Stephen F. Austin, Saml M. Williams and Jorge Fisher and to report it to the next meeting of this Body.

Ordered that the Municipal surveyor be requested to lay off ten out lots and the President be empowered to sell at private sale any vacant Town or out lots belonging to the Ayuntamiento for cash or on a Credit until the 1st Decr. next at the fixed rate of \$15 for a town, and \$30 for an out lot on condition of the purchaser giving bond with Security for the payment of the same, and complying with the usual conditions of making the required improvements thereon within the limited time, otherwise subject to forfeiture Gale Borden Sen. and James Hope, are nominated as Commissioners on the part of the Ayuntamiento to superintend the surveying of the above mentioned lots.

[p. 17] On motion of the Sindico Procurador, it was Ordered: That the act of digging a well on one of the Public Squares of this town, by subscription, of which James Whiteside, J. C. Payton, and Joseph White, with others were the subscribers, is sanctioned by this Ayuntamiento as an act of Public Utility, and it is hereby declared the said well to be a public property under the protection of the Ayuntamiento.

On motion of the same, it was orderd: That the President of this Ayuntamiento be authorized and he is hereby required to subscribe for the use and at the expence of this Ayuntamiento for an anual subscription to the "Texas Gazette,"²⁵ published in the town of San Felipe de Austin to commence with the 1st No. of said Newspaper, and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of this body to keep a file of said "Gazette," and of the "Registro Oficial" in his office under his strict responsibility, as part of the Archives of this Ayuntamiento.

Ordered that the Secretary be required to keep a Separate Book, called "Book of Ordinances" in which he shall record all ordinances, passed by this Body, in a numerical order, commencing the No. 1. with the present Ordinance "Relative to the Establishment of a Bord of Physicians" and that all Municipal ordinances which in

²⁵For a brief account of the *Texas Gazette* see "Notes on Early Texas Newspapers, 1819-1836," in *THE QUARTERLY*, XXI, 130 ff.

future may be passed by this Ayuntamto shall be numbered and recorded by the Secretary into the said ordinance Book and shall be signed by the President and Secretary of the Ayuntamto. which Ordinances²⁷

[p. 17a] ** copied, numbered, and signed, as provided, shall be held obligatory, as laws or proclamations (*bandos*) adopted by the Ayuntamiento for the better government of this municipality; with the understanding that no ordinance is to be published and regarded as a legitimate proclamation unless it is first copied, numbered, and signed according to the provisions just cited. The President and the Secy of this Body are charged with the exact fulfillment of this decree.

It was agreed that the present Secretary pro tem shall enjoy a salary at the rate of Eight hundred dollars a year for the time that he shall discharge this office, computing the time from the 19th day of July last; and that it shall be paid quarterly at the end of each quarter (*por trimestres cumplidos*). It was also agreed that he should be paid an appropriate sum for special work in answering the official correspondence of the political chief of the department and for the translation of the acts [of this ayuntamiento?] from the beginning of this year to the 19th of the said month of July, the payment to be made according to the appraisement of a committee appointed by this body and concurred in by it.

The ordinance relative to the establishment of the board of physicians was approved in its eight articles as reported by the committee, and the ordinance on the same subject, approved July 5 last, was repealed.

No other matters of importance presenting themselves, the session closed, to meet again the 8th of the current month, as provided in Art. 60 of the political Constitution of the State.

Jorge Fisher

Thos. Barnett

Sec. Pro. Tem.

prest.**

[p. 19] In the town of San Felipe de Austin on the 6th day of September 1830. The Ayuntamto met pursuant to the Municipal ordinances, in regular meeting. Present: Thomas Barnett

²⁶A page of the English is missing here. The matter between the ** is translated from the parallel Spanish.

President Walter C. White and Jesse H. Cartwright Regidors.
Wm. Pettus Sindico Procurador.

The minutes of the last regular meeting of this body held in August last were read and approved.

On motion of the Sindico Procurador it was ordered that the President of this body be required to issue a proclamation in the "Texas Gazette" offering One Hundred Dollars Reward for the apprehension and delivery into the custody of said President the Criminal Hiram Friley who broke custody on the evening of the 24th of last August, then in detention under the charge of murder, committed on the Person of Fielding Porter decd and that the said reward One Hundred Dollars be paid out of any unappropriated funds of this Municipality.

The Sindico Procurador produced a memorial to be sent to the State Legislature by this body praying to extend the time of levying the tax provided for in the 8th C[h]apter of the Municipal Law of the State, which memorial was read and approved and ordered to be spread on the records and that the President of this body forward the same to the Governor of the State, through the medium of the chief of this Depart. with a humble request from this body, that the same may be laid before the Hon.²⁸ Congress of the State. The petition is in the following words:

[p. 23a]**

Most Excellent Sir:

The constitutional ayuntamiento of the Town of San Felipe de Austin, in the department of Bexar, with all the respect due to this Honorable Congress, declares: That the same Honorable Congress of this State decreed by Law No. 100, of May 30, 1829, the municipal ordinances for the interior government of the said Town of Austin; that Chapter 8, in Articles Nos. 56 to 66, authorizes and requires this ayuntamiento, for the purposes indicated, to collect under its responsibility the taxes (*arbitrios*) prescribed therein. But this body, having taken into consideration the circumstances of the inhabitants of the jurisdiction, have, pending the investigation of public opinion upon the subject, delayed the execution of this chapter of the decree. The taxes levied by these

²⁸The English is missing here. The matter between the ** is from the parallel Spanish.

articles would yield, it is estimated, if carried into effect, no less than eight thousand dollars in the two years; and the inhabitants of this municipality were not able during the period mentioned, in view of the newness of the settlements, the scant crops of previous years, the expense of equipping their farms with tools and stocking them with horses and large and small cattle—in short laying the foundation of agricultural and pastoral industry,—adding to this the excessive scarcity of ready money (*los reales efectivos*) because**²⁹ . . .

[p. 26] of the Surplus produce of their agricultural industry they are enabled to get ready money, to satisfy a contribution absolutely necessary, to erect the indispensable buildings to insure public prosperity, whose want until now and dayly causes them great inconveniences, which were not in their power to prevent: Therefore:

To Your Excellency prays that it may be pleased to decree the prayer in which it will receive Grace and mercy.

Hall of the Ayuntamiento of the Town of Austin 6th of September 1830.

Most Excellent Sir.

Thos. Barnett

Jorge Fisher

Presdt of the Ayunto

Secy p. tem

of the Ayuntamiento

The President of the Ayuntamiento was required to announce officially to A. C. Buckner, that in consequence of the arrest, under which H. H. League 1st Regidor, is at present,³⁰ the office of Sd Regidor devolves upon him according to law, and that he be informed to attend at the next session of this body to be qualified and to take his seat.

There being no other business of immediate importance the Ayuntamiento adjourned until next Monday 13th inst. to meet again.

Approved.

Thos Barnett

Jorge Fisher

Presd

Secy p. t.

²⁹Here, for a page, both English and Spanish are missing.

³⁰The *Texas Gazette* of September 6, 1830, announced that Seth Ingram and H. H. League had had a "recontre" with J. G. Holtham, and that Holtham was killed by "a pistol ball passing through his body."

[p. 27] In the Town of San Felipe de Austin on the 13th day of Sept. 1830. The Ayuntamiento of this Municipality met in regular meeting pursuant to adjournment on the 6th inst: Present. Thos. Barnett, President. Walter C. White, and Jesse H. Cartwright. Regidors. William Pettus Sindico Procurador.

The minutes of the last session of the 6th inst were read, inclusive the Memorial made by this corporation to the Honorable Congress of this State, relative to taxation, which were approved.

The Election return from the district of Gonzales of the Election held on the 1st and 2d days of August, last, for a Comisario of Police were read, the apology of its tardiness admitted, and the same was declared valid. The votes were as follows: James B. Patrick obtained 38 votes. Silas Fuqua obtained 18 votes for Comisario of Police for said district, whereupon the Presid declared James B. Patrick as duly and constitutionally elected for said office, for the district of Gonzales, and that the order of the President on this subject be approved, and which is hereby approved.

The report by James Kerr commissioner with others to view out a road from the town of Brazoria to La Baca, was read and it was ordered that the said commissioners be permitted a further time to make out a full report of their investigation.

[p. 28] The Report of James Kerr and Robt Guthrie commissioners to view out a road from the Town of Austin by way of La Baca to Goliad, was read and approved as reported by said commissioners.

The several Reports of the commissioners Saml C. Hiram Martin Allen, John Jones Randall Jones and William Pettus to view out a road from the town of Austin to John Jones on the San Jacinto by way of Harrisburg were read, discussed and adopted with the amendments thereon. Martin Allen, William Andrews and Thos. Davis were appointed superintendants of Said road, and it was ordered that the President acquaint them with their appointment and give them their necessary instructions as decreed on that subject this day, by ordinance No. 5.

Ordered that Martin Varnum Joseph Kuykendall, and Jesse Thompson, appointed commissioners to view out a road from the town of Austin to Marion be remembered and required to report

to this body to their next meeting the result of their investigation.

The Petition of James Whiteside relative to a house, which the petitioner had erected on one of the public [s]quares of the town of Austin at his cost, and for his benefit, was read, and discussed, and it was ordered the sum of Fourty Dollars be offered to the petitioner, as a compensation for said building, and in case of his [p. 29] refusal, he be compelled to remove the same within three days, under the penalty of the provisions of the ordinance of this body, which declares similar buildings as a public nuisance.

The Petition of James B. Miller was read, in which he requests this body, that the error which he committed in purchasing a fifty acre lot, for One hundred and ten dollars; may be rectified by permitting him to take other property to the amount of Eighty Dollars which was rejected unanimously.

The petition of Thomas J. Gazley and Eliza Gazley praying that the tittle for the six Town Lots Nos. 133-134-135-190-191 and 192-be made to Eliza Gazley, was read and ordered that the President of this body ascertain how far said Thos. J. and Eliza Gazley have complied with the conditions of the sale of said six town lots, and if fully complied with the said conditions, that the tittle be issued as the petitioners pray.

A request from George B. McKinstry, to make the tittle, of two town lots No. 19 and 48 which were bought by him at the time of the original sale, to Dinsmore and Cochran, was read, and the same granted.

The petition of Godwin B. Cotton and Robert M. Williamson praying to issue the tittle for the town lot No. 50 to Thomas Gay was read, and the petition was granted.

[p. 30] The following relief Bill was passed and the several sums allowed to the persons therein mentioned, to be paid out of any unappropriated funds, viz. To Thomas J. Gazley, former Secy. in full for all his services and claims for house rent against this body, up to the 1st October next \$129. To Oliver Jones in full for his accts. from the 1st day of January 1829 to the 1 Sept 1830 \$137.4.

To William B. Whiteside for guarding Hiram Friley as a

Prisoner 24

To John Denton, for the same services..... 15

To James Holland for the same.....	9
To Alfred Kinyn for the same.....	3
To Thomas Gay for plank for J. G. H[o]ltham Coffin....	4.32
	<hr/>
Total amt.	\$321.32

The Ayuntamto adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

The Ayuntamto met according to adjournment Present, as before.

The President presented the body with an ordinance on the subject of raising the necessary funds to build a Jail in this town, which after discussion, and some amendments was approved as it stands recorded, and marked with No. 3 in the Book of Ordinances.

The subject of the sale of town and out lots was taken up and ordinance No. 4 apprd.

[p. 31] The petition of Green B. Jameson accompanied with an account, for his relief, was read and deferred to the next meeting, and the president was required to investigate the subject and report to the next meeting.

The petition of Jorge Fisher, praying that this Ayuntamto in conformity with the 17 art. of the Colonization law of this state, report favorably on his petition to the Governor of the State, wherein he solicits an augmentation to the lands, to which as an emigrant father of family he is entitled to, according to the 16th Article of said Colonization law was read, discussed and the petition granted with the following decree. "That the Statements made by the Petitioner in his memorial to His Excenly the Governor of the State and to this corporation, are founded on facts, and that this Body report favorably on the petition of the memorialist in consideration of his good circumstances, honesty, accredited industry, personal virtues, great capability in business, and knowledge of several languages, among them, the Castillian, and the english, and that his permanency, in this Depart will be of mutual benefit to the Government and the people, and that this petition be returned to the petitioner, together with this decree, for the uses that may suit him, and that the [p. 32] same be entered on the records.["]

The President stated that in virtue of the Several resolutions of this body, he has called on the Empresario Stephen F. Austin, for

a statement of affairs and liquidation of accounts between them and this Ayuntamiento and that in consequence of the various occupations and the frequent absence of the Sd. Empresario from this town, he was not enabled to comply with the said resolutions, whereupon it was ordered:

That the President of this Ayunto. transmit to the said Empresario with the shortest possible delay a certified copy of the Resolutions of the Ayuntamiento passed on the 1st Feby. 2 March. 5 July and 13th Sept. 1830 and that the Sd. Empresario is hereby required under his responsibility to lay before this body a complete and detailed statement of facts required in Sd. Resolutions at their meeting on the 27 day of this month without fail.

The ordinance No. 2 relative the prohibition of Gambling, was passed and adopted.³¹

It was ordered that the President be authorized to pay the guards, that now guard the Prisoners, from time to time as they may require it—

[p. 33] The following decrees were adopted:

I. Whereas by a decree of this Ayuntamiento passed on the 2d day of March last the President of this Body was authorized to

³¹This ordinance is published in *The Texas Gazette* of September 25, 1830. It declares that, "Whereas the vice of gambling is very pernicious and destructive to the good morals of society, and also has a tendency to create riotous and disorderly conduct," "Every description of gambling with cards, dice, machine, or instrument, including every description of hazard for money or property, is prohibited in the jurisdiction of Austin, and any person who violates this ordinance by establishing or permitting the establishment on his premises of cards, dice or hazards, etc., shall be fined from \$50 to \$150, besides the forfeiture of all money and devices used in the said gambling."

'Likewise all who violate this law by gambling shall be fined from \$50 to \$150 for each offense.

'Fines go into the municipal treasury. Those who are unable to pay shall work on public works at \$3 a day until fine and costs are paid.' This digest of the ordinance is from a rough note which the editor of these minutes made several years ago, the complete copy in *The Texas Gazette* not being available to him at present.

The Texas Gazette of October 2, 1830, notes that "several persons were arraigned before the alcalde of this jurisdiction" and fined the minimum of \$50 for gambling. "This," says the editor, "thoroughly evinces the potent arm with which the judiciary are willing to wield the sword of justice for the promotion of morals and suppression of vice." This is proper, he thinks, but the ordinance was new, and the offenders were ignorant of it, and the ayuntamiento should now remit the fine for the first offense. The petition was, however, unanimously rejected. See below, p. 196.

procure a translation of such acts of the Legislature of this State, as are in form, and relative to judicial proceedings in this Municipality, and cause the same to be published for which purpose he was authorized to employ a trustworthy, discreet and confidential person for translator, and whereas in conformity with the above decree, the Sd. President has employed the late John G. Holtham decd then Secy of this Ayunto. as translator, and caused the Laws Nos. 39 and 104³² to be translated and whereas the said Holtham after translating the same, and before liquidating his accounts with this body departed this life; Therefore it is hereby ordered that the President of this body be required to ascertain how far the said decd has complied with the charge entrusted to his care, in translating said Laws No. 39 and 104 and also to ascertain the value of the same, to which in consideration of said services the estate of the decd may be entitled to, and to report the same to this body by the next regular meeting, together with the translating of said Laws. Also that the President [p. 34] be authorized to satisfy out of the funds of this municipality the amount of the funeral expenses of the deceased which sum so paid shall be brought into the account of the estate of Sd. decd as part pay for the translations of the mentioned Laws No. 39 and 104.

II. Whereas the Attornies practising law within this Municipality, have for some time signified to the President of this Body their willingness to devote part of their time and labour for the public welfare of this community, by Serving gratis in a regular routine, as Attornies for the prosecution of crimes committed against the Laws of this state, and whereas the liberal offer of the aforesaid Attornies, meets the approbation of this Body. Therefore: it is hereby decreed that the same be accepted, and that Robert M. Williamson Esq be and he is hereby appointed as Attorney on the part of this Ayuntamiento to serve for purposes and on the conditions above mentioned for the next insuing Six months, counting from this date forward, and that the President of this Body notify him of his appointment.

³²Both these laws are omitted from the official publication of the laws of Coahuila and Texas. No. 39 described and defined the judiciary system, and a copy in Spanish may be found in the Bexar Archives at the University of Texas, file of June 21, 1827. No. 104 is entitled in Gammel (*Laws of Texas*, I, 244) merely "Letter of Procedure."

There being no other business before this body of immediate importance it was closed to meet again in course of law.

Approved—

Tho. Barnett

Jorge Fisher

Presd.

Secy: pro tem.

to the Ayuntamto.

[p. 35] In the town of San Felipe de Austin on the 4th day of Oct. 1830. The constitutional Ayuntamto of this Municipality according to the Municipal ordinances in regular meeting met. Present: the Alcalde Thomas Barnett President. Walter C. White and Jesse H. Cartwright 2d and 3d Regidores, Wm. Pettus Sindico Procurador. Absent. H. H. League 1st and Churchhill Fulcher 4th Regidores. The public meeting was opened and having given an account of the official communication of the Political Chief of this Depart. of the 7th of last Sept. in which he has been pleased to circulate the supreme order of his Excellency the Governor of the State of the date of 26 of last June, in which His Excellency orders that the Ayuntamto of this Depart comply with the provisions of the 147 Art: of the political Constitution of the State, and having the referred 147 art. of said constitution been read, it was by an unanimous vote ordered "That being this corporation satisfied of the good Sentiments which animate the political Chief of this Depart Dn. Ramon Musquiz and acknowledging the good services, which said political chief has rendered in favor of the prosperity and advancement of the rising Colonies of this Municipality, and considering the utility of his remaining in the office which he at present occupies and whose duties he to so much satisfaction of this Body discharges, recommends him to the Supreme Governmt of this State in conformity to the 147 art. of the political constitution of this state, as the individual of its choice, to the office of the Chief of the Department of Bexar.

In continuation the Ayuntamto [p. 36] proceeded to despatch such pending business as it was proper to be acted upon at this meeting, and commenced with the business relative to the removal of the curate named for this town from the town of Goliad. in consequence of which the President presented the correspondence which he had with said priest on the subject of his removal, and

after a sufficient deliberation it was ordered. That the Ayuntamiento petition the Government for the appointment of a Priest for this town, in place of the one, who was appointed and whose appointment was changed.

The Ayuntamiento proceeded to the nomination of other two persons to be recommended to His Excellency the Governor of the state for the office of the Chief of the Department of Bexar and Gaspar Flores and Miguel Arciniega of Bexar were recommended to that office should the appointment not be conferred upon the individual first named.³³

The Commissioners appointed to view out a road from this town to Marion were granted further time to report the same.

The president was permitted further time to make a full report on the Petition of Green B. Jameson, and on the subject relative to the translation of the laws Nos. 39 and 104 and the liquidation of the accounts of the estate of the late J. G. Holtham decd.

The President presented the documents which the Empresario Stephen F. Austin has rendered to him, in obedience to the resolution of this body, passed at the regular meeting on the 13th Sept [p. 37] last relative to the pending business between him and this Body, on the subject of the disposal of the town and out lots during his administration of the municipal affairs of this Jurisdiction, and on the liquidation of the financial concerns of the same, during the same times which documents were admitted, examined and deferred to the next meeting.

The president communicated, that the said Empresario requests further time for the presentation of the list of families composing his first colony, as required by the aforesaid resolution, and further time was granted, to him until the next regular meeting in November next.

The Ayuntamiento adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

"2 o'clock P. M. The Ayuntamiento met according to adjournment."

Present as before:

It was ordered that public notice be given to all persons interested in the town and out lots, acquired during the Administration of the Municipal affairs of this Jurisdiction by the Em-

³³Ramon Musquiz being first choice.

presario Stephen F. Austin citing them to pay the amounts respectively due for them and to make the stipulated improvements thereon as agreed between them and the said Empresario, at the time the sale or grant was effected, within the time limited by the decree of this body passed at their regular meeting on the 3d day of May last, and unless they comply with the aforesaid conditions of sale, or grant by the 3d day of November next all such town and out lots as are comprehended in the list presented by said Empresario shall on that day be sold at public sale, at the Alcaldes office in this town, under the superintendence of the [p. 38] Ayuntamto of this Municipality for account and benefit of the present holders, and that for the information of the persons subject to the provisions of this decree, a list exhibiting the same be published in the Texas Gazette, which list is as follows:

Joshua Parker	out lots	No. 19. 25	.....	\$ 30
Thomas Westall	do do	" 1	.....	50
Jane H. Long	do do	" 20	.....	15
Baron de Bastrop	do do	" 2. 3	.....	75
Thomas Westall Town	lots	" 1. 2. 3. 62. 63. 65. 66	.....	115
M. M. Battle	do do	" 69. 130	.....	20
Nicolas Clopper	do do	" 17	.....	30
Alexander Calvitt	do	" 537. 538	.....	40
Jane Wilkins Town	lots	No. 117. 82	\$ 40
Ira Ingram	do do	" 72	10
S. Whiting	do do	" 75	10

due.	Total amt.	\$435.
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The Petition of J. M. Pennington praying that the tittle for the town lot No. 579 be issued in favor of Baker Larkin, John M. Allen, and Laughlin McLaughlin was read and the same granted.

A petition subscribed by Stephen Brown, Noah Scott, Jesse Clift, and John Williams and John McGee—praying that they may be released from the payment of the fine, imposed upon them by the Alcalde of this jurisdiction on the 22d Sept. last; for violating the Ordinance No. 2; relative to the prohibition of gambling, was presented, read, and rejected by unanimous vote.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New.
By Roger Bigelow Merriman. Volume I—*The Middle Ages*. Volume II—*The Catholic Monarchs*. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1918.)

This is by far the most exhaustive and authoritative study of Spanish history in the English language. It is a product, in every sense, of modern historical scholarship, embodying all the methodology usually employed by careful scholars. The aim of this work is to describe, in four volumes, the rise of the Spanish Empire from its early background in the Middle Ages to the death of Philip II, "under whose rule the Spanish Empire attained its greatest territorial extent." The two volumes in question carry the story through the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.

The student of Spanish and Latin-American history will turn to these books for the satisfaction of a long-felt want,—the need of a careful study on the basis of the best sources not generally available of the historical and institutional background of the civilization that was brought to America by the Spaniards. In them is to be found the essential facts of the rise of the Spanish Empire, but the story is told from the angle of Spain, herself, and not with America as the central thought and objective. This, indeed, to the American scholar, is a somewhat unusual, though essential and accurate viewpoint. America's part, however, is adequately set forth, for, "when all is said and done, it was the Indies that account for her greatness during the brief period that it lasted. If they were a principal cause of her subsequent decay, they were also the primary source of her temporary preëminence. Without them she would never have been able to retain the hegemony of Europe as long as she did; without them the Spanish Empire would scarcely have been worthy of the name. What seemed to contemporaries but a fortunate incident was really the great turning-point in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. The day that Christopher Columbus set sail from Palos was the most fateful in the history of United Spain." This placing of America in its true perspective with regard to Spain in 1500 is one of the most valuable contributions of the study.

The Introduction summarizes the early Phoenician, Roman and Visigothic influences on the history of Spain, discussing briefly as well certain geographical and climatic features which have played an important part in her career. The main chapters trace the political events in Castile and Aragon to the epoch of the Catholic Monarchs. The essential features of the Reconquest are set forth, ending with the subjugation of Andalucia and the confinement of the Moors to Granada. The far-reaching outcome of the events of this period was the inculcation of "a programme of militant Catholicism," though the monarchs of this early era, we are told, were not intolerant; indeed, they "deliberately strove to render the lot of the Moors . . . agreeable," and the latter "were protected and often actually favored." The intolerance and bigotry shown by the latter-day Spaniards resulted from subsequent religious and political considerations which were characteristic of later epochs. This is an important distinction, worthy of careful consideration. Castile's relations with Portugal in the West and with Aragon in the eastern part of the peninsula presented important problems whose solution ultimately determined Spain's expansion into the Atlantic, and kept Castile from being a Mediterranean power; the conquest and colonization of the Canaries were initiated, and "a long step on the road to the discovery of America was thus taken; Castile's part in the Hundred Years' War indicates that she was not isolated from the other European States; indeed, her rulers aspired to the imperial crown and her cosmopolitan interests were indicated by the presence of a Castilian embassy at the court of Tamerlane at Samarcand during the reign of Henry III (1390-1406).

He who is interested in the real *content* of history, as distinguished from the narrative of a succession of historical events, will be pleased indeed with the portion of this volume which deals with the early social classes and political institutions of Castile. There is no attempt, however, to trace the *early development* of these institutions, or to show their relation to those in the colonies which were probably derived from them. Due attention is also given to the political expansion of Aragon, whose conquests, together with those of Catalonia "laid the foundation for Spain's preëminence in Europe during the sixteenth century," thus directing "her im-

perial aspirations to the eastward before the discovery of America diverted them to the west." A Mediterranean empire was conquered, an immense commerce was built up,—the Balearics, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and parts of Italy came under the sway of Aragon; likewise the Spanish power was extended over portions of the north coast of Africa. The Catalan Company extended its commercial interests to Constantinople, and traded extensively in Asia Minor. The last chapters of this section are devoted to a description of the institutions of Aragon, as those of Castile are examined in former chapters. In all, this volume gives an adequate background for a study of the political, religious and racial characteristics of Spain's Golden Age.

The second volume has a more unified topic to present,—the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. The antecedents of the succession and union of the Catholic Monarchs are succinctly given, and particularly striking is the depiction of the remarkable personality and career of John of Aragon, whose diplomatic triumphs resulted not only in the unification and consolidation of Navarre and Catalonia, but the realization of his ultimate and most important objective: the union of the two kingdoms. One of the main problems and accomplishments of the Catholic Monarchs was the expulsion of the Moors and the "unity of faith and race," realized by the abandonment of the spirit of tolerance characteristic of the Spaniard up to this time. The thoughtful student will appreciate the author's point of view, wherein he "lays less than the usual emphasis on the errors of Spain's racial and religious policy . . . because . . . they were but one of a number of reasons that went to produce the final result." The reform of administration was not less important as a part of the programme accomplished by Ferdinand and Isabella, and the institutions created exercised a profound influence on those established in America subsequently. The conquest, colonization and administration of the Canaries did much to prepare Spain for her activities in America. The oft-repeated story of the discovery and exploration of the Indies down to 1500 is treated as an incident to the rise and decline of the Spanish Empire. Contemporaneous with the movement toward the Indies was another which had as its objective the conquest, political and religious, of the North African Coast. Spain at this

time was also a Mediterranean power, and herein we are given an opportunity to study that development from an angle other than the one usually presented,—from that of Spanish rather than of continental European history.

In the compilation of this useful history the writer has made extensive use of almost every known and available secondary source, as well as many printed original sources. The balance of the book is well preserved by the author's almost entire abstention from the use of manuscript materials. That may well be left for some subsequent investigator. This study is as erudite and minute as a general history of this period can be in two volumes. The bibliographical scope of the work is truly enormous, manifested by careful foot-notes and by ample bibliographical treatises at the end of the respective chapters.

CHAS. H. CUNNINGHAM.

My Story. By Anson Mills, Brigadier-General, U. S. A. Edited by C. H. Claudy. (Washington: Published by the author. 1918. Pp. 411.)

This is the autobiography of a keen, vigorous, high-spirited American whose long and full life, though closely identified with the frontier, has touched many sides of our general national development. Beginning with his early life in the then frontier Indiana, the narrative runs easily through a brief schooling in Western New York, two years at West Point, a year of school-teaching in McKinney, Texas, and three years in El Paso as a surveyor. With the outbreak of Civil War, young Mills, who was a staunch Unionist, went to Washington, received a lieutenant's commission in the regular infantry, and served with the Army of the Cumberland until the end of hostilities. He remained in the army as captain, and after some further services in the West and South, married in 1867. From this point the narrative becomes fuller, for the General counts his married life as the richest and fullest part of his career. The account of his subsequent services at a score of western army posts, in the later Indian wars and as a member of the Mexican Boundary Commission, his promotions, his business relations in and services to El Paso, his invention of the Mills

Web Belt and his frequent disappointments in the long struggle to get it adopted, with his final success, is told clearly and at all times modestly. The volume opens with a foreword by General Nelson A. Miles and ends with an appendix containing three papers, one a plea for reform of the organization and administration of the U. S. Army, written in 1897, the others addresses before the Society of the Army of the Cumberland and before the Order of Indian Wars.

One cannot but admire the spirit shown in the memoirs—whether it is the youthful daredevil posting of a defiance to his enemies in a frontier town, the audacious promise of a young lieutenant to call to personal account a member of Lincoln's cabinet, his tender and whole-hearted devotion to his wife, his generous championship of his Confederate opponents, of the Mexicans, of woman's suffrage, of prohibition, and—mark it well—his hatred of war! Of his "greatest material achievements," the invention and development of the ammunition carrier and web equipment, he says with evident sincerity, "I only regret that they were not designed for construction rather than for destruction." The last chapter in the volume is devoted to an earnest exposition of the folly of "trial by combat," national as well as personal.

The book was not intended primarily for the historical student but rather as a memorial of his wife and for the information of descendants and kinsmen; therefore, it would be improper to apply to it the rigid canons of historical criticism. The chronological overlapping of the narrative sometimes renders it a little difficult to establish the date of an occurrence, and when the author gives the date of the month he frequently omits to mention the year. Some errors are evidently due to inadvertence. General A. S. Johnston is spelled "Johnson" (pp. 82-83); Beauregard is said to have "retreated toward Nashville" after yielding Corinth (p. 83); while the statement that Bragg "retired toward Atlanta to which we also went" after the battle of Missionary Ridge (p. 94) is inexact. Of his strictures upon the war with Mexico in 1847 (p. 258), and his defense of Huerta (p. 262), there will of course be two opinions. It will be noticed that the General's admiration for public personages extends to some members of both the great

political parties, but that he is silent about a certain Colonel Roosevelt.

Though not written for the historian, the volume will be useful to the student of the period. It should be added that it is typographically excellent, with beautiful prints and excellent cuts. The lack of an index is partially made good by a full table of contents.

CHAS. W. RAMSDELL.

"General James Wilkinson as an advisor to Emperor Iturbide." Under this title Dr. Herbert E. Bolton contributes two documents from the Mexican archives to the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (May, 1918). The documents were written in 1822; one relates to commerce, the other to the colonization of Texas and is dated November 18. General Wilkinson suggests that Texas be transformed "from an asylum of pirates and assassins into beautiful settlements, according to modern taste and policy, inhabited by cultured Catholic people, dedicated to manufacturing and all kinds of industry." He argues against the introduction of Europeans because not adapted to such an enterprise, but favored the introduction of families from Louisiana and Florida, preferably those of Spanish and French descent, who are accustomed to Spanish rule, are experienced in the cultivation of the crops suited to the climate, and whose settlements could be augmented with Catholic families from the United States, if this should at any time be deemed desirable. He also recommended that Texas be divided and that the portion east of the Colorado River be erected into a new province named Iturbide, whose governor should be a man of honor, fidelity, intelligence, adaptability and political sagacity, in order to be able to deal with the exceedingly difficult questions arising in connection with the new settlement.

The Galveston News of August 11, 1918, published an interesting account of the early history of Galveston Island, Bay and City, written by Mr. Ben C. Stuart. Mr. Stuart brands as a myth the statement by Yoakum that Lafitte built the fort at the eastern end of the island. He cites as his authority for this conclusion a letter of George Graham. Some information concerning this letter and two others, not printed in the *News*, is contained in a letter to the undersigned, dated May 11, 1918:

"In the *Galveston News* of August 8, 1886, there appeared two letters bearing on the early history of the island, which were edited by my father, the late Hamilton Stuart. The first bearing date of August 20, 1818, was written by Geo. Graham to Genl. Eleazer W. Ripley in command of a force of U. S. troops in Louisiana, and contains an account of his visit to the island under instructions of the U. S. state department.

"The second, written by 'Gen.' James Long to Ripley, as well as a third communication to him, gives an account of his operations in June and July, 1820. I saw the originals at the time and they were beyond doubt genuine. They were sent to the *News* by a gentleman then residing in Louisiana, whose name I have forgotten, paid for, and at his request returned to him."

The subjects dealt with more or less in detail by Mr. Stuart are the Mexican customs collectors from 1830 to 1835, the slave schooners entering Galveston Bay, the beginnings of the city, pioneer Protestant preachers, early yellow fever epidemics, and the first city election. Biographical data is furnished relating to Stephen Pearl Andrews, abolitionist; Stephen Churchill, pirate, pilot and ferryman; John M. Allen, the first mayor; and George C. Childress, the reputed author of the declaration of independence, whose unmarked and forgotten grave Mr. Stuart locates.

E. W. W.

NEWS ITEMS

Samuel M. Williams, nephew of Samuel M. Williams, secretary of Austin's Colony, died at Houston, July 17, 1918. A sketch of his life and a bit of family history was printed in the *Houston Post* of July 18.

Carlos Hernandez, author and prominent official in the State of Durango, died at San Antonio, July 24, 1918. The *San Antonio Express* of July 23 and 25 contains a list of his important works and a brief sketch of his life.

Sinclair Moreland, author of the *Noblest Roman*, and editor of *Texas Women's Hall of Fame*, and of *Governors' Messages, 1874-1891*, died at Norman, Oklahoma, October 5, 1918. Mr. Moreland was Y. M. C. A. secretary at the time of his death.

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OF THE

TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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THE FIRST EUROPEANS IN TEXAS, 1528-1536

II

HARBERT DAVENPORT AND JOSEPH K. WELLS

8. Journey to the Land of Tunas

It is now necessary to consider the adventures of Dorantes, Castillo, and the negro, during the years when they resided among the Indians who wintered near the River of Nuts, before Cabeza de Vaca came to join them.

"When summer comes, in the end of May . . . when the floods in the rivers subside," says Oviedo,⁷⁵ "it was the custom of these Indians

To begin to go to eat tunas, which fruit is in these lands in abundance, and they go more than forty leagues forward toward Pánuco to eat them. . . . This is the best food they have in all the year, and these bear for a month and a half or two months, and they eat this fruit, and march and kill some deer at the same time . . . and in this manner; they take the road by the coast, and run a wing into the land, and as most of the year this land is deserted and without people there are many deer, and they round them up and drive them into the sea, and hold them there . . . until they are drowned. . . . With this exercise they pass forward on their road to where they depart from the salt water and enter into the interior, eating their tunas which continue for fifty or sixty days. . . . There among the tunas Castillo, the negro and Andres Dorantes came back together again, and concerted plans to leave, but since the

⁷⁵Oviedo, III, p. 601.

Indians were never quiet, nor together, they presently each went to his own part . . . with his masters, to eat those nuts . . . and when they arrived there Cabeza de Vaca came to join them.

There they laid plans for their escape, and the nature of the plans is clearly set forth by Cabeza de Vaca:

Castillo asked me whither I went. I told him my purpose was to go to a country of Christians, and that I followed this direction and trail. Andres Dorantes said that for many days he had been urging Castillo and Estebanico to go further on but they did not risk it, being unable to swim and afraid of the rivers and inlets (*ancones*) that had to be crossed so often in that country. . . . They at last determined upon fleeing, as I would take them safely across the rivers and bays (*ancones*) we might meet. But they advised me to keep it secret from the Indians . . . lest they . . . kill me forthwith. . . . To avoid this it was necessary to remain with them six months longer, after which time they would remove to another section to eat prickly pears [*tunas*]. . . . Now at the time they pluck this fruit, other Indians from beyond come to them with bows for barter and exchange, and when those turn back we thought of joining them and escaping in this way. With this understanding I remained, and they gave me as a slave to an Indian with whom Dorantes stayed. . . . These are called *Mariames*, and Castillo was with others, who were their neighbors, called *Iguaces*. . . . Dorantes remained only a few days with those Indians and then escaped. Castillo and Estebanico went inland to the *Iguaces*. . . . When I had been with the Christians for six months, waiting to execute our plans the Indians went for *tunas* at a distance of thirty leagues from there, and as we were about to flee the Indians began fighting among themselves over a woman . . . and in a great rage each one took his lodge and went his own way. So we Christians had to part, and in no manner could we get together again until the year following.⁷⁶

Oviedo is much less explicit about the details of the plan to escape but adds some facts concerning the Tuna region which Cabeza de Vaca omits:

They . . . could not communicate except in the region of the *tunas*, which they went forward to eat in the field and on that occasion they were many times on the point of leaving but . . . they separated them, each to his own district. Thus passed six years and in the seventh year, at the time of this fruit

⁷⁶Cabeza de Vaca, 81-82, 95.

of the tunas, though each of these Christians was separated from the others, each of them resolutely went forward, and unexpectedly arrived at a place inland, in a certain part where they were accustomed to eat the tunas, but the Indians had not gone there on this occasion.⁷⁷

Cabeza de Vaca adds other details:⁷⁸

When the time for the tunas came we found each other again on the same spot. We had already agreed to escape and appointed a day for it, when on that very day the Indians separated us, sending each one to a different place, and I told my companions that I would wait for them at the tunas until full moon. It was the first of September and the first day of the new moon. . . . We parted, each one going off with his Indians.

Oviedo details the further adventures of Dorantes, Castillo, and the negro, pending their escape; Cabeza de Vaca is explicit only as to his own. The former says:

Dorantes, the first, went there [to the place inland where they were accustomed to eat tunas] and chanced to find an Indian people who had come there that same day; who were great enemies of the others with whom the Christians had been, and they received him very well. At the end of three or four days the negro . . . and Castillo, who were together, arrived, and they agreed to seek for Cabeza de Vaca, who was waiting further on. They saw some smoke columns in the distance, and arranged that Dorantes and the negro should go to this smoke, and that Castillo should remain there to assure the Indians, . . . saying they believed it was their other companion who was making this smoke, and that they would bring him to their company. . . . They went thus and searched well, going about until night, when they met with an Indian who took them to where Cabeza de Vaca was. He told them how he had come to seek them. And it pleased God that those Indians moved next day near to where Castillo had remained, and there they joined again.⁷⁹

Cabeza de Vaca says:⁸⁰

I remained with [my Indians] until the thirteenth of the moon, determined to escape to other Indians, as soon as the moon would be full, and on that day there came to where I was Andres

⁷⁷Oviedo, III, p. 602.

⁷⁸Cabeza de Vaca, 95-96.

⁷⁹Oviedo, III, p. 602.

⁸⁰Cabeza de Vaca, 96.

Dorantes and Estebanico. They told me they had left Castillo with other people nearby, called "*Anagados*," and how they had suffered many hardships and been lost. On the following day our Indians moved towards where Castillo was, and were going to join those who kept him, making friends with them, as until then they had been at war. So we got Castillo also. . . . These Indians told us that farther on there were others called "*Camones*," who live nearer the coast, and that they were those who killed all the people that came in the barge of Tellez and Peñalosa. They had been so emaciated and feeble that when being killed they offered no resistance. So the Indians finished all of them and showed us some of their clothes and weapons and said the barge was still there stranded.

A few additional details concerning these tunas and the land where they grew so abundantly can be gleaned from the narratives. Cabeza de Vaca, speaking of the *Mariames*, with whom he made two journeys to this tuna region says:⁸¹

Their best times are when tunas are ripe. . . . These are a fruit the size of eggs, red and black, and taste very good. For three months they subsist upon them exclusively, eating nothing else. . . . As long as these tunas last they squeeze and open them and set them to dry. When dried they are put in baskets like figs and kept to be eaten on the way. The peelings they grind and pulverize. . . . During all the time we ate tunas we felt thirsty. To allay our thirst we drank the juice of the fruit, pouring it first into a pit which we dug in the soil, and when that was full we drank to satisfaction. The Indians do it that way for lack of vessels. The juice is sweet, and has the color of must. There are many kinds of tunas, and some very good ones, although to me all tasted well alike, hunger never leaving time to select or stop to think which ones were better. Most of the people drink rainwater that collects here and there, for as they never have a fixed abode, they know no springs or watering places, although there are rivers. All over the land are vast and handsome pastures, with good grass for cattle, and it strikes me the soil would be very fertile, were the country inhabited and improved by reasonable people. We saw no mountains as long as we were in this country.

It is clear that the annual journey from the River of Nuts to the abundant tuna region was "toward Pánuco," and near the margin of the bays along the coast. Oviedo estimates the distance forward toward Pánuco at "more than forty leagues."

⁸¹Cabeza de Vaca, 91-97.

Cabeza de Vaca refers to the tuna region as thirty leagues from the River of Nuts. Oviedo notes an inland turn among the tunas "where they leave the salt water." This journey inland could not have been for many leagues, probably not more than the ten leagues difference between the estimates of the distance made by Dorantes whom Oviedo follows, and by Cabeza de Vaca.

The tuna region was evidently in the Texas Coastal Plain, because Cabeza de Vaca says that there were no stones in that country.⁸² It is important to know this, for it is only within the memory of men now living that the flora, fauna and topography of the coastal plain region of Texas, between the Guadalupe and the Rio Grande, have been affected by the advance of civilization. Since the invention of barbed wire the whole appearance of this region has been changed by the rapid spread of mesquite and huisache. The great freeze of February, 1899, aided by "root rot" has greatly thinned the prickly pear in that portion of the coastal plain immediately south of the Nueces River, but all this has happened within the past half century. Pioneer inhabitants of this region, yet living, saw this land substantially as it was in Cabeza de Vaca's day.⁸³ From them we learn that the prickly pear was not found, and for that matter it is not found now,⁸⁴ in sufficient quantities to be regarded as a food plant on any portion of the coastal plain north or east of Mission River, in the center of Refugio County.

Between Mission River and the Nueces the prickly pear was and is found in considerable quantities, but by no means so abundantly as in the region south of the Nueces. There was the true "land of tunas"—the most northerly region on the Texas coast, in which tunas were, or are, abundant. Prior to 1899 the pres-

⁸²"I verily believe, from what I saw, that if there were any stones in the country they [the Mariames] would eat them also." (Cabeza de Vaca, p. 90.)

⁸³This statement is based upon information received from so many of the pioneers of southwestern Texas that it would be impossible to mention them all. Special indebtedness must be acknowledged, however, to Mr. Sam A. Ragland of Santa Gertrudis, Mr. S. S. Robinson of Beeville, and Judge James B. Wells of Brownsville, all natives of southwestern Texas, who as boys and men have known this region, from forty to sixty years.

⁸⁴The map prepared by Miss Ponton and Mr. McFarland (*THE QUARTERLY*, I, 176) accurately depicts the region in southwestern Texas in which cactus grows in sufficient quantities to be regarded as a food plant by an entire tribe of Indians. Mr. Baskett was misled by his informants.

ent counties of Kleberg Jim Wells, Duval, and Live Oak, and a portion of Nueces County, abounded in tunas. Prickly pears were far more abundant there than in any other portion of Texas, except the region immediately north of the lower Rio Grande. South of this first great tuna field there is a belt of sandy soil, which includes, roughly, the present counties of Willacy, Brooks, and Jim Hogg, which is not adapted to growing cactus, and in which this plant is, and always has been, rare. This belt of sandy soil varies in width from forty to sixty miles, being widest near the coast, and extends westward from the coast almost to the Rio Grande. South of this sandy stretch there is another great tuna field, which includes Cameron, Hidalgo, and Starr Counties, where the prickly pear is even more abundant and prolific than in the region north of the sands and south of the Nueces; but whereas the northern tuna belt was until very recent years a vast prairie, with only occasional clumps of mesquite, live oak, and huisache, the tuna belt near the Rio Grande was, from the earliest historical times, interspersed with immense forests and impenetrable thickets of mesquite, ebony, huisache, guajillo, and other thorny trees and shrubs.

A journey of thirty or forty leagues "toward Pánuco" along the coast from the region of the mouth of the Guadalupe River, would take the castaways to the vicinity of the present towns of Kingsville and Riviera. The latter town is near the southern limits of the northern tuna belt. An inland journey of ten or a dozen leagues from there would place them in southeastern Duval County, near the southern line of the northern tuna belt, and in an undulating region where rainwater "collects in places here and

From the standpoint of the botanist the prickly pear is to be "found" north and east of the region indicated, but only in occasional and unfruitful clusters. The prickly pear is usually found associated with limestone, or else growing in a silty soil, washed from limestone formations, and is never very prolific elsewhere. Thus the author of *A Visit to Texas* (Goodrich & Wiley, New York, 1831) after traversing all the region between Velasco and Anahuac on horseback in 1831, was very much surprised to find the "nopal or rock pear, which I had seen in the northern states growing to a height of five or six inches," growing to a height of ten or fifteen feet, on Smith Point in Chambers County. He states that there were two kinds, having fruit of different colors. These isolated growths of prickly pear are to be found where soil conditions chance to be favorable (as at Smith Point, which is based on an oyster shell reef), but nowhere in such quantities as to afford sustenance to entire tribes of Indians, even very small tribes.

there." The Mexicans who first settled this region were small stock growers who, for this very reason, preferred Duval County to more fertile lands nearby.

The region between the towns of San Diego and Falfurrias, therefore, fits both the topography and the itinerary of the narratives more accurately than does any other portion of this northerly tuna region, as the point of termination of the journey to the land of tunas; and in this region the four survivors of Narváez's army escaped from the Mariames, and joined the Indians from beyond who met them there.

9. The Land of the Avavares

After being reunited, the three Spaniards and the negro did not long remain with the Anagados.

Oviedo says:⁸⁵

They went that day, without being heard, and knowing not where to go . . . seeking for some tunas . . . although it was time for them to be gone, because it was during October, and . . . early this day they met with Indians . . . [who] were very gentle, and had some knowledge of the Christians, though little. . . . They did not know how badly the others had treated them. . . . It was now the beginning of winter, and they were without hides for covering, and the *tunas* failing through the country through which they had to travel, they came to the necessity of halting there that winter to get some hides with which to cover themselves, which, they were told, they could not find further on. Since they were on the road, and where they had better preparation for the following year, when the *tunas* came, and could then proceed with their plan, they waited there . . . from the first of October to the month of August of the year that came. . . . These Indians were not near the water, where they could kill fish, so there they eat nothing but roots . . . and they have greater difficulties than all the rest in carrying on trade. . . . Among these Indians these Christians were well treated . . . permitted to live in freedom and to have all that they wanted.

Cabeza de Vaca's version has more details, but is difficult to follow. He is generally indefinite as to directions, but this lack of clearness is here unusually marked. Oviedo, usually much more definite, is here equally vague, as appears above.

⁸⁵Oviedo, III, p. 602.

Omitting immaterial details, Cabeza de Vaca's account of the escape from the Anagados and the subsequent journey with the Avavares follows:⁸⁶

Two days after moving . . . we fled, hoping that although it was late in the season and the fruits of the tunas were giving out, by remaining in the field we might still get over a good portion of the land. . . . At sunset we came in sight of . . . lodges, and . . . met four Indians waiting for us, and they received us well. We told them in the language of the *Mariames* that we had come to see them. They appeared to be pleased with our company and took us to their homes. . . . These Indians speak another language and are called *Avavares*. They were those who used to fetch bows to ours and barter with them, and, although of another language and speech, they understand the idiom of those with whom we formerly were, and had arrived there on that very day with their lodges. Forthwith they offered us many tunas, because they had heard of us. . . . They celebrated our coming for three days, and at the end of which we asked them about the land further on, the people and the food that might be obtained. They replied that there were plenty of tunas all through that country, but that the season was over and nobody there, because all had gone to their abodes after gathering *tunas*; also that the country was very cold and very few hides in it. Hearing this, and as winter and cold weather were setting in, we determined to spend it with those Indians.

Five days after our arrival they left, to get more *tunas* at a place where people of a different nation and language lived, and having travelled five days, suffering greatly from hunger, as on the way there were neither tunas nor any kind of food we came to a river, where we pitched our tents. As soon as we were settled we went out to hunt for the fruit of certain trees, which are like spring bittervetch (*orobus*), and as through all that country there are no trails I lost too much time hunting for them. . . . I went astray and got lost. . . . I went on for five days. . . . I went to the brush in the timber near the rivers and stopped in it every evening . . . during all that time I did not eat a mouthful, nor could I find anything to eat. . . . At the end of five days I reached the shores of a river and there met my Indians. They, as well as the Christians, had given me up for dead, thinking that perhaps a snake had bitten me. They . . . told me that thus far they had wandered about famishing, and therefore had not hunted for me, and that night they gave me of their *tunas*. On the next day we left and went where we found a great many of that fruit. . . . We removed to

⁸⁶Cabeza de Vaca, 89-114.

others that were eating tunas also, called *Cuttalchulches* and *Malicones* which speak a different language, and with them were others called *Coayos* and *Susolas*, and on another side those called *Atayos* who were at war with the *Susolas*, and exchanging arrow shots with them every day. . . . When . . . the *Cuttalchulches* had to return to their country, before parting they offered us all the *tunas* they had for their journey, . . . and gave us flint stones as long as one and a half palms, with which they cut, and that are greatly prized among them.

We remained with the *Avavares* Indians eight months according to our reckoning of the moons. . . . The same Indians told us they had seen the Asturian and Figueroa with other Indians further along on the coast, which we had named of the figs (*de los Higos*). All those people had no reckoning by either sun or moon, nor do they count by months and years; they judge of the seasons by the ripening of fruits, by the time when fish die, and by the appearance of the stars, in all of which they are very clever and expert. While with them we were always well treated, although our food was never too plentiful, and we had to carry our own wood and water. Their dwellings and their food was like those of the others, but they are much more exposed to starvation, having neither maize nor acorns or nuts. We always went about naked, like they, and covered ourselves at night with deer skins. During six of the eight months we were with them we suffered much from hunger, because they do not have fish either. . . . The country is so rough and overgrown that often, after we had gathered firewood in the timber and dragged it out, we would bleed freely from the thorns and spines, which cut and slashed us wherever they touched. Sometimes it happened that I was unable to carry or drag out the firewood after I had gathered it with much loss of blood. . . . I made a contract with those Indians to make combs, arrows, bows and nets for them. Also we made matting of which their lodges are constructed, and of which they are in very great need, for, although they know how to make it, they do not like to do any work, in order to be able to go in quest of food. Whenever they work, they suffer greatly from hunger. Again they would make me scrape skins and tan them.

Oviedo's lack of detail, and Cabeza de Vaca's vagueness concerning distances and directions, make a proper analysis of this portion of the narratives much more difficult than the study of the journey from Mal-Hado to the tuna region.

From the time when they built the barges on the coast of Florida, until Cabeza de Vaca and his companions saw the first mountains, many days after leaving the *Avavares*, their only plan

for returning to civilization was to make their way "forward" along the coast to the Spanish settlements on the Pánuco River. With this idea the barges were built. After the shipwreck at Mal-Hado, Figueroa and the other swimmers were sent "forward" toward Pánuco to find Christians. Dorantes the following spring led all who were able to travel along the coast "toward Pánuco"; and it was along the coast, still "toward Pánuco," that Figueroa and the Asturian endeavored to make their way. It was along the coast, "toward Pánuco," that Cabeza de Vaca proceeded with Lope de Oviedo, and after the latter turned back Cabeza de Vaca told Castillo "that he sought a land of Christians and followed this direction and trail." Castillo and Dorantes, who had already been with the Mariames and Iguaces forty leagues forward "toward Pánuco" to eat tunas,⁸⁷ told him that the best way to accomplish their purpose was to remain with the Mariames on the River of Nuts until the next tuna season, escape from them in the tuna region and join "other Indians," who came "from beyond" to meet the Mariames with bows to barter and exchange, when these other Indians "turned back." Eighteen months later this plan was carried out, and the Spaniards joined the Avavares, who were, Cabeza de Vaca says, the very Indians who were accustomed to fetch the bows to barter with the Ma-

⁸⁷Velásquez defines tuna, as, "the prickly pear or Indian fig, the fig of the *Cactus Opuntia*." Cabeza de Vaca, (p. 91), speaking of tunas says, "When dried they are put in baskets like figs and kept to be eaten on the way."

Five days after the Spaniards joined the Avavares the latter "Left to get more tunas at a place where people of a different nation and language lived . . . and having traveled five days," says Cabeza de Vaca, "We came to a river." Here they pitched their tents, and "went out to hunt for the fruit of certain trees," and Cabeza de Vaca became lost. He traveled alone for five days stopping each evening "in the timber near the rivers," at the end of which he met his Indians "on the shores of a river. Cabeza de Vaca as well as the Indians had thus far "wandered about famishing" but, on the next day they went to where they found "a great many tunas." Early the next day many Indians came. When these last Indians had gone, continues Cabeza de Vaca, "We removed to others that were eating tunas also, called Cultalchulches and Malicones, which speak a different language, and with them were others called Coayos and Susolas, and on another side those called Atayos, who were at war with the Susolas." (Cabeza de Vaca, p. 105.)

At page 124 of Cabeza de Vaca the same tribes are distributed geographically as follows:

"On the coast live the Quitoles, and in front of them, inland, the Chauaures. These are joined by the Malicones and the Cultalchulches, and others called Susolas and Comos. Ahead on the coast are the Camolas, and

riames. Evidently this visit to the inland tuna region at this time was solely for trade, since they had just arrived, although "the fruits of the tunas were giving out." Five days later they left, "to get more tunas," and traveled five days, suffering greatly from hunger "because they found no tunas." At that season tunas would have been found in sufficient quantities for food everywhere within five days' travel from the southern edge of the northern tuna belt except south through the sand. At the end of the five days they came to a river, where they went to hunt for the fruit of certain trees "which are like spring bittervetch," or as Buckingham Smith has it, "like peas." As Judge Coopwood⁸⁸ suggests, this must have been the seed of the ebony tree, which is quite nutritious, and while in the pod has the appearance of an exaggerated English pea. Under the local name of "Maguacatas," these are eaten today, and used as a substitute for coffee, by the Mexicans of the *ranchos* of Cameron, Starr, and Hidalgo Counties. The ebony is not found north of the Nueces River, and but rarely north of the sands, and then usually as a mere bush—the ebanito, or shrub ebony. South of the sands, in the great tuna belt near the north bank of the Rio Grande, ebony is plentiful.

The Avavares had no acorns, consequently they must have lived south of the live oak region, which extends to the Nueces River. A few live oak clad ridges are found in the sands. The country of the Avavares was overgrown with thorny trees. As already

further on those whom we call the people of the figs." The Avavares told the Spaniards "They had seen the Asturian and Figueroa with other Indians further along on the coast which we had named of the figs." When they left the Avavares they went first "to other Indians further ahead called Malicenes, at a distance of one day's travel." The implication from the facts stated is that the unnamed tribe of Indians met among the abundant tunas found at the end of the five days' wandering, were the "people of the figs," and the region where they were found "the coast which we had named of the figs."

The frequent mention of rivers in Cabeza de Vaca's narrative here, suggests that this "Coast of figs" was between the Arroyo Colorado and the Rio Grande. In this region there are at least four resacas, or ancient channels of the Rio Grande, which have the superficial appearance of rivers. So many streams worthy of the name "Rio" are not found elsewhere near the coast, south of the Nueces river, and north of the Rio Grande. Tunas are abundant there, and are found later in the season than in the more northerly tuna Belt.

⁸⁸Coopwood, THE QUARTERLY, III, 129.

stated, these thorny woods and thickets have been found from the earliest times in the region just north of the Rio Grande, but have only in recent years extended northward to the region of the lower Nueces and beyond. The thorns, the absence of fish, acorns, and nuts, the "fruit like a pea," the danger from snake bite, the five days' journey where there were no tunas; the fact that they found abundant tunas long after they had "begun to fail" elsewhere, the implied increase in the number of deer skins to be had, all indicate that the journey with the Avavares was southerly, still "toward Pánuco," and to a region within thirty or forty miles of the north bank of the Rio Grande. Arroyo Colorado is probably the river where they ate the "fruit like peas." This home district of the Avavares was not on the sea coast, for Oviedo says that they were not on the water, and Cabeza de Vaca that they had no fish. It was not far from the gulf, however, for these Indians had seen the Asturian and Figueroa, with other Indians "further along on the coast," and they judged of the seasons "by the time when fish die." The other evidence, of course, is controlled by Cabeza de Vaca's definite statement that these Indians, who traded bows to the Mariames, lived "beyond" the region where the Mariames met them. "Beyond," being, in this connection, an equivalent for "toward Pánuco." The north-eastern and north central portions of Hidalgo County satisfy the requirements of the narratives for this winter home of the Avavares.

It should be remembered in considering this and the next section of the journey, that from Mal-Hado to the tuna region where these Spaniards went inland with the Mariames, "eating their tunas," the trend of the coast is from northeast to southwest. Since Cabeza de Vaca and his companions could not have known of the eastward bulge in the coast line in the region of the mouth of the Rio Grande, they would naturally continue in this south-westerly direction to reach Pánuco. Such a course, from the region where they left the Anagados to a point beyond the Rio Grande, would take them across the Rio Grande at a point in the general neighborhood of the village of Penitas, between Mission and Samfordyce. As we shall see, there is other evidence to show that they did cross this river in this region when they renewed their journey in the following year from this land of

the Avavares. The details of this journey, from the point where they left the Avavares until they crossed a big river, confirms this location of the region where they spent the winter; as does a study of the Indian tribes found in this vicinity.

The wooded region north of the Rio Grande remained much as it was in Cabeza de Vaca's time until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when it was granted in large tracts by the Spanish crown to residents of the village of Reynosa. Five of these grants embraced almost the whole of the wooded country north of the Rio Grande, and north and east of the *Porciones* granted to the original settlers of the town of Reynosa, in 1767. These *Porciones* are in southwestern Hidalgo County. The Espíritu Santo grant, on which the city of Brownsville now stands, contains thirty-one square leagues, bounded on the south by the Rio Grande, on the east by the "Lagunes of the Sea," on the north by Arroyo Colorado, and on the west by "a very thick wood," granted to Juan Salvador de la Garza, in 1781. This grant lies east of the probable path of Cabeza de Vaca.

The "Llano Grande" and "La Feria" grants, assigned respectively to Juan José Hinojosa and his daughter, Rosa Hinojosa de Balli, the former grant being in Hidalgo County and the latter in Cameron County, are adjacent lands, denounced and surveyed at the same time. The two grants have a common title. A copy of the *testimonio* of the proceedings which preceded the grant is recorded in the deed records of Cameron County. These lands were inspected and surveyed in 1777, and the other preliminary proceedings were had in the same year, but the grant was not finally perfected until later. The two grants are bounded on the south by the Rio Grande. Together, they have a width of six and a quarter leagues from west to east, and a depth of six leagues from north to south.

On May 30, 1777, José Antonio de la Garza Falcón, Captain and Alcalde of Camargo, sat at Reynosa (Viejo) as special judge for vacant and unappropriated land and water in New Spain, and conducted an official inquiry into the character and occupancy of these lands, which had been denounced by the persons to whom they were subsequently granted. A copy of the proceedings of this inquiry was made part of the *testimonio*.

Domingo Guerra testified⁸⁹ that he was seventy-six years of age, and one of the soldiers who originally settled the village of Reynosa, which was founded twenty-eight years before. At the time of such settlement the land in question, with the other lands of the colony, were unappropriated, uncultivated, and vacant, and inhabited by numerous nations of heathen Indians, who, at the time of the hearing, still inhabited it. The central portions of the lands in question, as well as all of its borders, were overgrown with thick woods, and had many brakes, very thorny, and some small plains called *Derramaderos*, which are inundated during rainy seasons from the copious overflows of the Rio Grande. The witness was of the opinion that it would be a good thing for the community to have the lands allotted to Hinojosa and Balli, as they would try to settle the same and restrain the Indian enemies.

Matías Tijerina, fifty years of age, and also one of the first settlers of Reynosa, corroborated the preceding witness as to the time of the founding of Reynosa, and as to the land being inhabited by many tribes of barbarous Indians. The lands were thickly grown with woods, like all the margins of the Rio Grande, which woods hide the animals that injure the live stock growing on these lands. There were also some plains, very small, which were inundated by overflows of the river. The witness was of the opinion that awarding the land to the applicants would not make the Indians who inhabited these lands indisposed and restless, since they were timorous, but would tend to restrain their thefts and outrages. Perhaps good treatment by the settlers might lead the Indians to live in peace, and some of them might adopt Christianity.

José Francisco Cavazos testified that he was forty years of age, and one of the first settlers of Reynosa; that on account of the lands in question having been very much contended for by the Indians, he had been much over them. The lands were uncultivated, vacant, and inhabited only by many nations of heathen Indians. Like other borders of the Rio Grande the lands were full of thickets, with some glades, worn from the forest, which overflow whenever the Rio Grande rises. In the center of the lands

⁸⁹*Testimonio* proceedings in favor of Juan José Hinojosa and Rosa Hinojosa Balli. A very corrupt copy is to be found in the deed records of Cameron County.

there were some *esteros* or lagoons of rainwater, which remained collected after the floods of the Rio Grande receded, and these usually lasted all the year. No one had settled on these lands except the barbarous Indians, who, up to the time of the hearing, supported themselves there, and continued their ranchos in the center of these lands. The witness was of the opinion that the settlement of these lands would lead the Indians, by reason of their association with the settlers, to give way to reason, and submit themselves to law and God, as already was gradually happening.

On June 4, 1777, the special judge, with surveyors, the interested parties, assisting witnesses, and other experts and officials, began a formal inspection and survey of these lands. They reported that the lands were situated about fifteen leagues from the village of Reynosa (Viejo), and were low and of hot temperature. The windings of the Rio Grande formed bends, which contained dense stretches of canebrakes, thickets and brambles. Here were willows, ash, elms, hackberries and other trees natural to the region. A *resaca* ran from the river, in direction between north and east, and there was a lake or pond therein, which was encircled by little short palms, elms and brambles, and a great deal of prickly pear (*nopal*). A very dense and wide wood ran about due north, dividing the open places, which were not very extensive. In an *estero*, or *arroyo*, which wound inland toward the center of the land, were two small lakes of fresh water and one of salt water. More to the center of the lands, far from said *arroyo* or *estero*, was found a little well, made by the Indians, with very little water. Here the inspecting party found grouped a nation of heathen Indians, who called themselves los Pauragues. These Indians invited the party to dismount and some of them did so. One of the Indians guided them, so that they might find their way out of those lands. They pressed through very impenetrable thickets, which they could not have gone through without that guide, who took them westwardly, through a very narrow path the Indians had made. They came to some high lands, or hills of sand, well covered with grass. Near those high lands, there was a kind of brake, with a great many elms, *anacuas*, and *escobas*.

They also inspected many habitations of old *ranchos* on the edge of the woods, then unpopulated. On the west side of these lands there was a very big and solid forest, extending from north to

south, and to the Rio Grande. They found on these lands another nation of Indians, called "Little Faces" (*Caras Chiquitas*)⁹⁰ and among them they found a sick woman, who asked for the water of baptism, which was administered, to the satisfaction of the other Indians.

The trees marked in the course of the survey were mesquite and ebonies. Because of the thick brush and woods on the western boundary that line was not surveyed. The appraisers who had accompanied the surveying and inspecting parties found the land to be entirely unfit for farming, since in winter it was entirely sterile, and could not be irrigated, and by reason of this, and the further fact that the land was full of "impenetrable thorny thickets," and was inhabited only by "Indian enemies," they fixed its valuation at twelve *reales* (\$1.50) per league, for land suitable for "large cattle," and five *reales* (62½ cents) per league, for land suitable for "small cattle."

In the summer of 1794 Vicente Hinojosa, a son of the original grantee of the Llano Grande, denounced thirty-five square leagues of land north of and adjoining the Llano Grande and La Feria grants, the land denounced being since known as "Las Mesteñas y Petitas y La Abra"; and Juan José Balli denounced seventy-two leagues, adjoining and lying to the north and west of the lands denounced by Vicente Hinojosa, known as San Salvador del Tule. The two grants have separate titles and independent *testimonios*, but were inspected and surveyed at the same time. The total depth of the two grants from north to south is more than thirteen leagues; their total width on the south boundary line is seventeen and one-half leagues (eight leagues of this is an extension eight leagues long and one league wide from the main body of Las Mesteñas grant eastward to the Arroyo Colorado), and at the north boundary line six and one-half leagues. The eastward extension of the Mesteñas grant is called Ojo de Agua, from a large spring of fine water near the Arroyo Colorado.

The lands denounced by Vicente Hinojosa were inspected on August 18, 1794.⁹¹ The inspecting party found near the north

⁹⁰Probably *Casas Chiquitas*, and hence "Little Houses," instead of "Little Faces." The former were a well known tribe of Coahuiltecan Indians. See *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 315.

⁹¹*Testimonio* proceedings in favor of Vicente Hinojosa. One of the triplicate originals is to be found among the archives of the municipality of

boundary of these lands an old well which had become stopped up, which had formerly been used by a tribe of Indians known as "Como Se Llama,"⁹² who, at the time of the inspection actually lived on this land; near its northeast corner was a salt lake known then (and now) as Sal Viejo; and in the center of this land the inspecting party "saw and examined many very dense thickets of brush and nopals . . . and tigers, lions, wolves, coyotes, and snakes, very long and very thick, *javelines*, deer, antelope, hares, and rabbits."

The surveyors were unable to complete the survey of the Ojo de Agua extension "because of the denseness of the thickets," the survey ending in a dry lagoon "surrounded by hackberries, elms, ebonies, and many thick and tall mesquites." The map which accompanies the report of the survey shows a large and very dense wood at the southwestern corner of the grant, which is also the southeastern corner of the San Salvador del Tule grant, and near the center of Hidalgo county.

The inspection of San Salvador del Tule was made on the 7th of August, 1794. The inspectors found on this land two old wells, stopped up, a lagoon with very little water in it, in limestone of poor quality; thickets of mesquite, some fit for short implements, and other unfit for use; many nopals, and not all of good fruit; some lagoons, salty and dry, and the Royal Salt Lake of Purificacion (commonly called *La Sal del Rey*). "On the southern part," continues this report, "It is inhabited by many injurious animals, such as tigers, lions, and wolves, and snakes which are, to an extreme, long and thick, and deer, *javelines*, antelope, hares, rabbits and rats, and a nation of heathen Indians, who annually inhabit and people said lands, called the nation of the Cotonames."⁹³

Reynosa. The copy which I have examined was carefully compared with the original preliminary to its use to prove this title in a lawsuit.

⁹²The Coahuiltecan tribe called "Como se llama" by the Spaniards was among the last of the tribes of this vicinity to lose its tribal identity. Remnants of it remained about the region of Lyford and Raymondville, in Cameron County, until a comparatively recent period, and their name is still applied to one of their former habitations, the "Como se llama" ranch, near Lyford. This name appears to be a Spanish corruption of that by which these Indians called themselves. Quite possibly they are identical with Cabeza de Vaca's Comos and Coayos.

⁹³The Cotonames were a well known Coahuiltecan tribe. They were usually affiliated with the Carrizos (who called themselves Comecrudes) but spoke a different dialect. Gatschet found a few members of this tribe at La Noria ranch in Southern Hidalgo County, in 1886, and one

The survey makes it clear that the northwestern portion of this grant was in the prairie, as was the southwestern portion known as "Melado," but the southern and eastern sections were wooded, the woods extending almost to the northeast corner. The surveyor remarks in this connection, "I do not place any more" [figures on the map accompanying the survey] "as it would be confusion, on account of the many thickets situated on this land."

The description of this region contained in these *testimonios* is accurate today, allowing for purely artificial changes made within the past ten years. Except that the woods have extended a few leagues north and west, the natural physical aspect of this region changed little between 1794 and 1916, and there is no reason to suppose that it changed more between 1535 and 1794.

The Indians called by the inspectors of the Llano Grande Los Pauragues may well have been Cabeza de Vaca's Avavares. The Indians of this region gradually became attached to the *ranchos* of the Spanish settlers and so lost their language and tribal identity. They cannot now be distinguished from the descendants of the servants brought to the Rio Grande by the Spanish settlers.

10. *From the Land of the Avavares to the Mountains*

(a) Preliminary Statement

The students who first traced Cabeza de Vaca and his companions from Mal-Hado to the Land of Tunas are of no further assistance for many stages of the journey. Without exception they follow the route along the coast as far as knowledge of its topography, or of the Oviedo narrative, will permit, and then, for the onward journey, draw an arbitrary line across Texas, wholly without regard to topography and the succession of facts stated in the narratives, to a point on the upper Rio Grande where Espejo intersected the route of Cabeza de Vaca, half a century later. The reason for this is not apparent, for both Cabeza de Vaca⁹⁴ and

man, at Las Prietas ranch, had some familiarity with the native dialect. Their name for "Indian" was Xaima, and they were the Xainame and Haname, of the Texan tribes further north. The Tonkawas said that the Cotonames wore sandals instead of moccasins. (*Handbook of American Indians*, I, 352.)

⁹⁴Cabeza de Vaca, p. 133.

Oviedo⁹⁵ mention, within a few days' journey after leaving the Avavares a landmark as distinctive and exclusive as the four rivers west of Mal-Hado—a chain of mountains very near the coast—the first mountains seen on the entire journey. Cabeza de Vaca says that from what the Indians told them, they believed that these mountains were within fifteen leagues of the ocean.

As Judge Coopwood correctly says,⁹⁶

It is a well known fact that the first mountain within such distance of the coast, going from the mouth of the Mississippi towards Pánuco is the *Pamoranes*, south of the Rio Grande. . . . This mountain has a stream flowing southward along its west side, and the length of the mountain is about fourteen leagues. . . . It extends back from the coast slightly west of north. . . . There is no mountain within fifteen leagues of the gulf coast north of the Rio Grande, and *Pamoranes* is the first so close south of it. . . . Cabeza de Vaca's turn to go inland was near a mountain fifteen leagues from the coast in a prickly pear region, and if there is no such place north of the Bravo, and the first one south of there is *Pamoranes*, then at least it may be said that he was south of that river when he made the turn to go inland.⁹⁷

A few more hints from Judge Coopwood concerning the topography of northern Tamaulipas will be helpful:

From the San Juan River over to the San Lorenzo, at the foot of the *Pamoranes* mountain is about five leagues. The San Juan River flows to the northeast towards the Rio Grande, and going across the *Llano de Flores*, it appears as if the stream on the west of the *Pamoranes* mountain also flows in that direction; but it flows southward and empties into the Rio Conchas, near the southern end of the mountain. This little river is called San Lorenzo.⁹⁸

From Nogales, at the foot of the "Beginnings of the Sierra de San Carlos," and south of Rio Conchas, continues Judge Coopwood,⁹⁹

can be seen [he is speaking figuratively] the southern end of the Sierra de Pamoranes, standing within fifteen leagues of the gulf

⁹⁵Oviedo, III, p. 605.

⁹⁶Coopwood, THE QUARTERLY, III, 138.

⁹⁷Coopwood, THE QUARTERLY, III, 113-140.

⁹⁸Coopwood, THE QUARTERLY, III, 138.

⁹⁹Coopwood, THE QUARTERLY, III, 139.

coast. On the further side of the point of the mountain one sees the San Lorenzo and the Conchas coming together and flowing easterly, on the south of the mountain, to the Laguna Madre. . . . away across the plain, the San Juan River is seen where Bravo now stands. Between it and the river is the plain or *Llano de Flores*, extending south to the Conchas.

Judge Coopwood might have added that the mountain which he calls Pamoranes is an outlying spur of the easternmost ridge of the Sierra Madres, the Cerralvo mountains, which extend approximately north and south parallel with the general course of the Rio Grande. From the mouth of the San Juan River to Laredo these mountains are plainly visible from the left or Texas bank of the Rio Grande. There is a wide gap between the southern end of the Cerralvo mountains proper and the northern end of the Pamoranes. This gap is Judge Coopwood's "*Llano de Flores*," at the northern edge of which the Rio Pesquería, the northern branch of the San Juan, flows from Ramones on the west to Villa los Herreras on the east, "at the foot of the point" of the Cerralvo mountains, at a distance of forty or fifty miles from the Rio Grande at Penitas.¹⁰⁰

With the aid of this glimpse into the region into which Cabeza de Vaca and his companions must have gone, if they continued forward "toward Pánuco," or in the direction in which they supposed Pánuco to be, after leaving the Avavares, a minute and careful examination and comparison of the two narratives should indicate whether or not the forward journey was into the region in northern Tamaulipas, described above. Where comment seems unnecessary the two narratives are distinguished merely as "Oviedo," and "Cabeza de Vaca."

(b) Beginning the Great Journey

OVIEDO:¹⁰¹ The month of August arrived, and these three gentlemen had collected some deer hides, and were ready and when the time came, fled secretly and prudently from the Indians with whom they came to these parts. . . . This same day that they departed they walked seven leagues to meet with other Indians, who were friends of those they left behind, and there they received them well, and gave them of what they had.

¹⁰⁰All statements made in this paper with reference to the topography of northern Tamaulipas are verified from *Carta General del Estado de Tamaulipas Levantada a iniciativa de su actual Gobernador Co. Pedro Arguelles por la Comisión Geografico-Exploradora*, 1908.

¹⁰¹Oviedo, III, p. 603.

CABEZA DE VACA:¹⁰² At the end of that time [eight months] the *tunas* began to ripen, and without their noticing it we left and went to other Indians further ahead, called *Maliacones*, at a distance of one day's travel. Three days after I and the negro reached there, I sent him back to get Castillo and Dorantes.

(c) The Rest Among the "Granillos"

OVIEDO:¹⁰³ The next day they moved on, and so went forward to and were joined by other Indians, who took them with them, and they went to eat two varieties of small fruits (*Los unos y los otros unos granillos*) that ripen at that time. There are through there great woods of small trees that bear this fruit. There they joined with others, and the Christians passed to them because this was a people from further onward, and more to the purpose of their road and intention. They remained through there eight days with them, that they ate nothing but some leaves of *tunas* because they were waiting for these *granillos*, which were not ripe. There these Christians gave a part of the deer hides which they carried in exchange for two dogs to eat, because they were so weak they dared not walk a league. They ate the dogs, and parted from the Indians and went on.

CABEZA DE VACA:¹⁰⁴ After they [Castillo and Dorantes] rejoined me, we all departed in company of the Indians who went to eat a small fruit of some trees. On this fruit they subsist for ten or twelve days until the *tunas* are fully ripe. There they joined other Indians called *Arbadaos*. . . . The Indians with whom we had come went back on the trail. . . . While with these we suffered more hunger than with any of the others. In the course of a whole day we did not eat more than two hands full of fruit, which was green, and contained so much milky juice that our mouths were burnt by it. As water was very scarce, whoever ate of them became very thirsty. And we finally grew so hungry that we purchased two dogs in exchange for two nets and other things, and a hide with which I used to cover myself. . . . After we had eaten the dogs it seemed to us that we had enough strength to go further on, so we . . . took leave of these Indians and they put us on the track of others of their language who were nearby.

It will be noted from both narratives here that the "further on" idea continued in the minds of the Spaniards. The implication is that they continued in the direction in which they supposed Pánuco to be. They did not know of the eastward trend of the

¹⁰²Cabeza de Vaca, p. 111.

¹⁰³Oviedo, III, p. 603.

¹⁰⁴Cabeza de Vaca, p. 112.

Gulf coast opposite where they now were, of course, and their route, therefore, probably diverged somewhat from the true direction of Pánuco, but Pánuco was still their destination.

The facts stated suggest that the true date of their departure from the Avavares was nearer May 15th as implied by Cabeza de Vaca,¹⁰⁵ than August 1st, as stated by Oviedo.¹⁰⁶ The tunas, as well as the mesquite and ebony beans—which were probably the “milky juiced small fruit” and “granillos”¹⁰⁷ of the narratives—should have been fully ripe by the latter date, or even by July 1st, the date suggested by Mr. Baskett. This also confirms the view that they spent the preceding winter within a few leagues of the Rio Grande. Mesquite and ebony beans could not have been found together elsewhere.

(d) They Become Healers

OVIEDO:¹⁰⁸ These last Indians were very sorrowful because they had gone, but did not hinder them. This day they went forward five or six leagues, met no Indians to put them on their road, and stayed that night in the woods, where they slept, burying many leaves of the *tunas* which they ate through the morning of the next day. (Because when buried from one day to another they are less rough and acrid to the taste, and are more fit and

¹⁰⁵Baskett, THE QUARTERLY, X, 335, et seq.

¹⁰⁶Oviedo, III, p. 603.

¹⁰⁷Mr. B. Calero, who has assisted materially in preparing the translations from Oviedo presented in the text, thinks that “granillos” here should be rendered “seeds.” The lower class Mexican of the lower Rio Grande Valley esteems the tuna and the mesquite bean quite as much as did his Coahuiltecan ancestors. The mesquite bean, when green, is quite as bitter and unpleasant to the taste as Cabeza de Vaca indicates, but when fully ripe is sweet and palatable, the juice tasting rather like the juice of sorghum, though more delicately flavored. The seed of the ebony is larger and less unpleasant to the taste in its green state, but much less palatable than the mesquite bean when both are fully ripe. It is used by the modern *rancheros*, principally as a substitute for coffee, when they are “living out of a spoon,” that is, when they are in an extremely destitute condition. When the mesquite beans are ripe, all the women and children of the *ranchos* may be seen in the woods gathering these beans, and they are esteemed by them as a great delicacy. Europeans, however, never kindly regard either tunas, *maguacatas*, or mesquite beans as a regular article of diet for themselves. Witness Father Parisot’s comment, on the privations of a fellow priest, lost in the woods of the lower Rio Grande: “He lost his way and had nothing to eat for three days except mesquite beans and the pears of the cactus plant, both growing so profusely in Southwest Texas. The former is food for cattle and horses, and the latter for cattle when there is no grass nor anything else for them to eat. *Reminiscences of a Texas Missionary*, 29.

¹⁰⁸Oviedo, III, p. 603.

better for baking, and better for digestion.) Following their road until midday they arrived at two or three *ranchos*, where were some Indians who said they had nothing to eat, but that going forward they believed that by night they would arrive at some houses where they would give them food. They . . . arrived there and found forty or fifty *ranchos*. There is where they first began to esteem and reverence these few Christians. The Indians gave them of what they had to eat, which was nothing more than leaves of tunas, buried, and some *tunas* in the same way, although they were green. They remained there with those Indians fifteen days, to rest somewhat, because they were weak and unable to travel. They ate of those leaves of *tunas* until they began to ripen, and they were rested and recovered and gathered more strength. The Indians . . . gave them all they had with very good will, which they never had found until that time among . . . all they had seen and treated with.

CABEZA DE VACA:¹⁰⁹ While on our way it began to rain, and rained the whole day. We lost the trail and found ourselves in a big forest, where we gathered plenty of leaves of *tunas*, which we roasted that same night in an oven made by ourselves, and so much heat did we give them that in the morning they were fit to be eaten. . . . Issuing from the timber we met other Indian dwellings, where we saw two Indian women who . . . were frightened at the sight of us. . . . They told us they were very hungry, and that near by were many of their own lodges, and they would take us to them. So that night we reached a site where there were fifty dwellings . . . and they gave us of what they had to eat, which were leaves of *tunas* and green *tunas* baked. For the sake of this good treatment, giving us all they had . . . we remained with them several days, and during that time others came from further on. When those were about to leave we told the first ones that we intended to accompany them. This made them very sad . . . but we went and left them in tears at our departure.

After the meeting with these Indians, whom Cabeza de Vaca calls *Cuchendados*,¹¹⁰ there is a distinct change in the tone of both narratives. Before meeting them the Spaniards, when not actually enslaved, were at best merely mendicants, begging their way from tribe to tribe. They had been treated well or ill by their Indians, according to the disposition of the people with whom they chanced to be, but the difference was that between

¹⁰⁹Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 115-116.

¹¹⁰Cabeza de Vaca, p. 123.

the treatment accorded a beggar and a slave. Before the Spaniards were lost in the woods, the burden of both narratives was the tale of hardships endured and indignities suffered. They emerged from the forest in which they were lost, holy men, messengers from heaven, marching forward triumphantly from tribe to tribe, taking what they would for themselves and their retinue, not as a favor, but imperiously, as of divine right. Henceforth, the burden of both narratives is the tale of blessings conferred and miracles performed. The cupidity and the superstitions of the Indians now combined to aid them; the sign of the cross opened the way before them, so that they completed in ten months a journey which was actually ten times longer than the one which they had thought to complete in the tuna seasons of eight years.¹¹¹

This change in their attitude toward the Indians explains why, a few journeys forward, their route is no longer "toward Pánuco," and why, rather than risk a return to their former state, by going again toward the coast, where the Indians had treated them badly, they turned north with the skirts of the mountains and journeyed hundreds of leagues inland, and so became the first Europeans to cross the North American continent.¹¹²

¹¹¹Oviedo, III, p. 604.

¹¹²That there was no exaggeration in the report of the faith cures which raised the Spaniards from the position of beggars to that of saints is well illustrated by an account of a similar occurrence amongst the descendants of these Coahuiltecan Indians, reported by Father Parisot (*Reminiscences of a Texas Missionary*, 43, *et seq.*):

"It occurred in 1860. The rumor had been current for some time that a Saint had appeared in the mountains of Nuevo Leon, Mexico, and that he was working astounding miracles, healing all kinds of diseases which man is heir to, and foretelling future events. Men, women and children were seen on the roads leaving their homes and their occupations in order to pay their respects to the Saint, or to be cured of some disease. Many came to consult me before undertaking the journey . . . when I arrived [at Reynosa] the Mayor of the city came to see me, saying that . . . he and the aldermen were just going to see the Saint . . . the Saint had just reached a place called Mier about sixty miles from Reynosa. . . . The following day was Sunday and I said mass, but the church was not well filled, for many of the parishoners had already gone to see the Saint. After mass I also set out to see him, with the sole intention of investigating his claims and pretensions. . . . On arriving at Camargo, which is about half way between Reynosa and Mier, I spent the night in the Priest's house, where I heard of several acts and circumstances concerning the man, which if true, would clearly prove he was simply a hypocrite and impostor. As I continued my journey I saw crowds of pilgrims on their way to visit 'Tatita.' I also saw invalids carried to him in vehicles of every description. I reached Mier at 8 p. m. The streets were crowded with strangers and the prin-

(e) Cabeza de Vaca's List of Tribes

At this point in his record of the journey Cabeza de Vaca inserts a description of the habits and customs of the Indian tribes met with by the Spaniards up to that time, in the course of which he says:¹¹³

I also do wish to tell of the nations and languages met with from the island of Mal-Hado to the last ones, the *Cuchendados*. On the island of Mal-Hado two languages are spoken, the one they call *Capoques*, the other *Han*. On the mainland facing the island are others called of (de) *Charruco*, who take their name from

the principal plaza of the city was packed with human beings, all on their knees, reciting the Rosary, with this singular personage who was looked upon as a Saint. With great difficulty I approached . . . until I came in full view of the man. He appeared to be about sixty years old with stolid features. His hair and beard seemed unacquainted with comb and brush. He wore a kind of Franciscan garment reaching to a little below his knees, and a long cord, knotted at the end, hung down by his side as far as his feet. A Rosary with large beads hung from his neck, and he wore sandals on his feet. . . . He was kneeling before 100 lighted candles, which were stuck in the ground in the form of a cross. These candles he extinguished himself, and gave as a reason for so doing that any one else attempting to extinguish them would drop dead on the spot. Close by was a coarse wooden cross, about five feet long, which he used to carry on his shoulders during his wanderings, which were constantly performed on foot. . . . He stood up and began to preach, and this was a compendium of his doctrine . . .

"My Brethren! The new religion, which I am sent to deliver to you, was revealed to me by almighty God Himself, for the Mexican Nation. It consists exclusively in three things; to adore the Eternal Father and the Holy Cross, and to say the Rosary. Confession, mass and all other religious practices are abolished. Follow me, adore the cross, and you shall be saved.' . . . I said to myself, 'For the honor of religion, this man's scheme must be frustrated.' I immediately directed my steps to the pastor of the place. 'My whole parish,' he said, 'has abandoned me to follow this Charlatan, this diabolical hypocrite. Last Sunday I had only SIX women at mass . . . The impostor has three hundred *Hermanos* (Brothers) armed to the teeth, who draw their share of the profits. An American is the manager of the whole affair. . . . They are the dregs of society, who have found an easy way of living comfortably and pleasantly without much labor. This man, it is true, has performed some wonderful cures, but all within the province of nature. His medicines are pure water, mescal, herbs and roots. He is quite successful in treating ordinary diseases, and he makes the people believe that all his cures are performed through supernatural agencies.'"

The visiting priest courageously confronted the impostor, publicly denounced him, and *blew out his candles*. This nearly cost him his life at the hands of the enraged *Hermanos*, and did start a riot, which the Mayor of Mier was at some trouble to suppress. But this broke "Tatita's" hold upon the multitude. Three thousand of his admirers left Mier the next day and "Tatita" himself was attacked and killed by a party of young men from a neighboring village.

¹¹³Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 123-124.

the woods in which they live. Further on, along the seashore, are others, who call themselves *Deguenes*, and in front of them others named those of *Mendica*. Further on, on the coast, are the *Quevenes*, in front further inland the *Mariames*, and following the coast we came to the *Guaycones*, and in front of them, inland the *Yequaces*. After those come the *Atayos*, and behind them others called *Decubadaosm*, of whom there are a great many further on in this direction. On the coast live the *Quitoles*, and in front of them, inland, the *Chauauares*. These are joined by the *Maliacones* and *Cultalchulches* and others called *Susolas* and *Comos*, ahead on the coast are *Camolas*, and further on those whom we call the people of the *figs* (*de los Higos*).

All these people have homes and villages and speak different languages. Among them is a language wherein they call *MEN Miraaca*, *arraca*, and dogs *Xo*.

The tribes at Mal-Hado and their woodland neighbors, and the *Deguenes*, *Guevenes*, *Guaycones*, *Mendicas*, *Mariames* and *Yeguaces* (*Iguaces*), have been discussed. The *Anagados*, *Camones*, *Avavares* and *Arbadaos* are not included under those names in this list. Three of these tribes played such an important part in the adventures of the Spaniards that they would hardly have been omitted from such a summary; therefore, by reason of similarity of names and tribal relations, we at once conclude that *Chauauares* is a variation of *Avavares*, *Decubadaos* of *Arbadaos*, and *Camolas* of *Camones*. *Anagados* may likewise be another name for the *Atayos*, but the evidence is less conclusive. The *Anagados* were seen only in the tuna region; they were at war with the *Mariames*; received the Spaniards kindly when they escaped to them; and told them of the murder of the people of the barge of Tellez and Peñalosa by the *Camones*, who lived "nearer the coast" than the *Anagados*. They made peace with the *Mariames* and the Spaniards left them the next day. They are not mentioned again, nor further identified.

After the ten days of journeying with the *Avavares* the Spaniards met the *Cultalchulches*, *Malicones*, *Coayos* and *Susolas* feeding on tunas, and on another side were the *Atayos*, at war with the *Susolas*.¹¹⁴ The *Atayos* are not mentioned elsewhere, except in the list of tribes.

The other tribes mentioned were, like the *Avavares*, of much more gentle disposition than the tribes with whom the Spaniards

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 105-107.

previously had been. Some Susolas had befriended Cabeza de Vaca, and had been befriended by him at the time when he escaped from the Quevenes to the Mariames at the River of Nuts.¹¹⁵ The Cultalchulches and Malicones also befriended the Spaniards and were befriended by them while the latter were with the Avavares. The Coayos are mentioned only as one of the tribes eating tunas late in the season; the Comos only in the list of tribes. Probably they were the same people, and identical with the Como Se Llamas, or Comecrudos, of later times.

The Quitoles are not mentioned, except in this list. The "people of the figs" are not mentioned elsewhere, but the Spaniards were told by the Avavares that "They had seen Figueroa and the Asturian, with other Indians, further along on the coast which we had named of the figs." No explanation is made as to why either the coast or the Indians were so named.¹¹⁶ The Cuchendados were evidently the people "who first began to reverence the Christians."

The implication from both narratives is that all the tribes encountered after leaving the Anagados spoke dialects of the same language, and no complete change of language is indicated until they encountered a people "from afar" a hundred leagues or more further on their journey.

This retrospective discussion is inserted here for the purpose of showing that the Avavares and their neighbors were of Coahuiltecan linguistic stock. The Indians that are collectively called Coahuiltecan by modern commentators were a numerous group of very small tribes, which dwelt on both sides of the lower Rio Grande. Bolton¹¹⁷ has identified more than seventy tribes and sub-tribes of this group that dwelt between the coast and the *Camino Real* leading from San Antonio to Mission San Juan Bautista in Coahuila, below the modern Eagle Pass. The neophytes at both these missions were largely from this group of tribes. Pimentel says their language was the one most in use between Candela and the San Antonio River.¹¹⁸ Representative tribes of this group who dwelt near the lower Rio Grande were the Cotonames,¹¹⁹ survivors of whom were found by Gatschet in Southern Hidalgo County in

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, 79-106.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 110.

¹¹⁷Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières*, I, 27.

¹¹⁸*Handbook of American Indians*, I, p. 314.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, I, 352.

1886; the Carrizos, who called themselves Comecrudos; the Casas Chiquitas¹²⁰ and the Borralos,¹²¹ whose territory in later times joined that of the Karankawas and lower Lipans, and who were found in Texas, Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, and Coahuila.

(f) The River Like the Guadalquivir

OVIEDO:¹²² From there they went to other Indians two leagues forward, and they gave them many things because of the cures . . . made many feasts, and gave them very good food of tunas and meat, and went to hunt solely for the Christians. There they became somewhat stronger. . . . While they were there some women come who were from further on, to carry for them. These Christians at once departed from there, regretted much by those Indians, who followed them, requesting that they come back, so that next day they could go with those women. When they would not do so, the women followed behind the Christians (in order that they not be lost). They [the Christians] went by the road they told them about, and became lost. . . . At the end of two or three leagues they came together by the water of a small river, and the women were exhausted, . . . though they were in the prime of life. From there they went with them, and they marched that day eight or nine long leagues, without leaving the road all day when they could travel, and before the sun was set they arrived at a river, which appeared to them to be wider than the Guadalquivir in Sevilla, and they crossed it. The water came first to the knee, then to the thigh, and for the length of two lances to the breast, but without danger. They proceeded on their way, and arrived at nightfall at a town of nearly a hundred ranchos, and very many people, where they came out to meet them with much shouting and screaming and with some gourds full of small stones, with which they made their rejoicings and music.

CABEZA DE VACA:¹²³ After parting from those we had left in tears, we went with others to their homes and were well received. They brought us their children to touch, and gave us much mesquite meal. This *Mezquiquez* is a fruit, which, while on the tree, is very bitter, and like the caroa bean. It is eaten with earth, and then becomes sweet and very palatable . . . of this the Indians made a great feast in our behalf, and danced and celebrated all the time we were with them. . . . When we were about to leave some women happened to come, that belonged to Indians living further on, and informing ourselves where their

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, I. 314.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, I, 161, citing Bartholomé García.

¹²²Oviedo, III, p. 604.

¹²³Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 126-129.

abodes were, we left, although the Indians entreated us to remain a day longer, since the place we wanted to go was very far away, and there was no trail to it. They showed us how the women who had just arrived were tired, but if we would let them rest until the next day, they then would accompany us and guide us. We left, nevertheless, and soon the women followed with others of the village. There being no trails in that country we soon lost our way. At the end of four leagues we reached a spring, and there met the women who had followed us, and who told us all they had gone through until they fell in with us again. We went on taking them as guides. In the afternoon we crossed a big river, the water being more than waist deep. It may have been as wide as the one at Sevilla, and had a swift current. At sunset we reached a hundred Indian huts and, as we approached, the people came out to receive us, shouting frightfully and slapping their thighs. They carried perforated gourds filled with pebbles, which are ceremonial objects of great importance. . . . They claim that those gourds have healing virtues and that they come from Heaven, not being found in that country; nor do we know where they come from, except that the rivers carry them down when they rise and overflow the land.

The Oviedo narrative accounts for twenty-four leagues of travel, besides another day's journey of indefinite length, between the Avavares and the big village beyond the "river like Guadalquivir." There was also some wandering among the *granillos*. This was a progress from village to village, and not a line of march, and they were twice lost on the way. Hence the distance actually traversed may have been as few as forty or as many as seventy miles.

Judge Coopwood¹²⁴ alone has identified this "River like Guadalquivir" with the Rio Grande, yet the evidence that it is so is overwhelming. The progress recorded by both narratives forward from the River of Nuts, positively identified as the Guadalupe, "toward Pánuco," would inevitably take the Spaniards across the Rio Grande long before they reached the inland turn which begins the next stage of the journey. No other river mentioned in the narratives could possibly be the Rio Grande. On the other hand, the northern edge of the abundant tuna region on the Texas Coast could not have been north of Mission River. The Spaniards traveled from this tuna region, in the direction of Mexico, and the Rio Grande is the first river to be crossed, in traveling northwest, west, southwest, or south from this coastal tuna region, which conceivably could be compared to the Guadalquivir at Se-

¹²⁴Coopwood, THE QUARTERLY, III, 134.

villa. Topographical and natural history evidence from references made in the narratives before recording the crossing of this stream has already been presented. The evidence from references in the narratives made after the record of the crossing is equally convincing. Mountains are noted in both accounts as being first seen within a few days march beyond this river. The Indians told them that these mountains extended to within fifteen leagues of the ocean. Such mountains are first seen between Florida and Pánuco, so near the Gulf, a few days march south of the Rio Grande. The San Juan River is at the correct distance beyond the Rio Grande for the next river referred to in the narrative, and one of its main branches flows, as the narrative requires, "at the foot of the point" of the mountain.

The gourds noted by Cabeza de Vaca as having been brought down by the floods in these rivers were found at no place in Texas, but grew on the tributaries of the Rio Grande in Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, and Coahuila. Indian corn or maize, is mentioned as having been found within a few days journey after this crossing, and up the next river. Maize was not grown by any Indians living west of the Trinity in Texas. It was grown by tribes in Northern Tamaulipas and Nuevo León. These facts are all suggested by Mr. Baskett¹²⁵ and Judge O. W. Williams,¹²⁶ who are most resolute in rejecting the Rio Grande in this connection, because Judge Williams assumes that the lower Rio Grande has too much volume to be easily forded. He is partially in error. There are long periods in each year when crossing this river in its lower course would be a serious problem even for a practiced swimmer like Cabeza de Vaca. More often, however, the Rio Grande is fordable in a hundred places below the mouth of the San Juan, its last large tributary. It was formerly navigated from Roma to the Gulf by stern wheel steamers which drew only two or three feet of water. These, in ordinary stages of the river, could cross the numerous bars only by taking them crab fashion and cutting out a channel with the propeller wheels.¹²⁷ Near Laredo there was a ford where sheep and goats crossed.¹²⁸

¹²⁵Baskett, *THE QUARTERLY*, X, 272-273.

¹²⁶Williams, *THE QUARTERLY*, III, 60.

¹²⁷This statement is made on the authority of Captain Wm. Kelly, of Brownsville, who operated a line of steamers on the Rio Grande from the close of the Civil War until navigation of this river was finally abandoned.

¹²⁸Bolton, "Tienda de Cuervo's Inspección of Laredo," *THE QUARTERLY*,

Cabeza de Vaca and his party crossed in midsummer, when the stream is usually low, and they were guided by Indians who lived on its banks and knew the fords. Several months later, on the upper waters of this river, other Indians told them there had been a two years' drouth and begged them to tell the skies to rain, so the lower Rio Grande was probably very low when they crossed it.

The Frio, suggested by Mr. Baskett as the river referred to here, is not, in any portion of its course, even one-tenth as wide as the Guadalquivir at Sevilla, or as the Rio Grande below the mouth of the San Juan. Though a fine mountain stream, the Frio is a very small river, and in no respect to be compared to the second river of Spain.

Mr. Baskett goes to unnecessary trouble to prove that the "River like Guadalquivir" is not the Rio Grande, because he seems to think that this would be inconsistent with the known and accepted fact that the Cabeza de Vaca party, later in their journey, traveled up the left bank of the Rio Grande from the vicinity of Presidio, Texas, to the neighborhood of El Paso, Texas, or Rincón, New Mexico. This proves only that if the Cabeza de Vaca party crossed the lower Rio Grande they subsequently re-crossed into Texas.

The locality of the first crossing can be approximated from the narratives. Eight or ten leagues beyond this river the Spaniards first saw mountains, and as will appear later, from a point where mountains could be seen both to the right, inland, and to the left, toward the sea. From this point the Spaniards went five leagues forward to a river, which was "at the foot of the point" of the mountains inland, that is, to the right. Both the Avavares and the white Indians, among whom they were when they first saw mountains, told the Spaniards of the sea, and the mountains seen toward the sea were within fifteen leagues of the coast. At any point above the mouth of the San Juan River the mountains could have been seen from the left bank of the Rio Grande. Below the village of Penitas, opposite the original site of Reynosa, the Rio Grande is paralleled by a series of *resacas*, and since the narratives, though very detailed just here, do not mention cross-

VI, 196. The De León expedition of 1689, forded this river, in the vicinity of Laredo, "and found it easy to cross." See Miss West's translation of De León's diary, *THE QUARTERLY*, VIII, 205.

ing streams of that character, it is a reasonable inference that the Rio Grande was crossed above the head of these *resacas*. The crossing, therefore, was most probably between the mouth of the San Juan and the head of these *resacas*; and the implied distance from the coast, the distance from the large river to the river "at the foot of the point" of the mountains, and the probable location of the village where the mountains were first seen, all favor the idea that the crossing was in the vicinity of Penitas, and that the large village beyond the big river was near Reynosa Viejo.

(g) From the Big River to the Foot of the Mountains

CABEZA DE VACA:¹²⁹ The next day we went on, and all the people of that village with us, and when we came to other Indians were as well received as anywhere in the past; they also gave us of the deer they had killed during the day. . . . So we left there also, going to others by whom we were also very well received. . . . After we left those we went to many other lodges. . . . On the following day they brought us all the people of the village; most of them had one eye clouded, while others were totally blind from the same cause. . . . They are well built, of good physique, and whiter than any we had met until then. There we began to see mountains, and it seemed as if they swept down from the direction of the North Sea, and so, from what the Indians told us, we believe they are fifteen leagues from the ocean. From there we went with the Indians towards the mountains aforesaid, and they took us to some of their relatives. They did not want to lead us anywhere but to their own people. . . . After receiving us with much rejoicing, [these] sent for others from another village nearby to come and look at us. In the afternoon they all came. . . . The next day, as we were going to leave, they all wanted to take us to others of their friends, who dwelt on a spur of the mountains. They said there were a great many lodges, and people who would give us much, but, as it was out of our way, we did not want to go there, and continued on the plain, though near the mountains, thinking them to be not far from the coast. All the people there were very bad, and we preferred to cross the country, as further inland they were better inclined, and treated us better. We also felt sure to find the country more thickly settled, and with more resources. Finally we did it because in crossing the country we would see much more of its particulars.

OVIEDO:¹³⁰ The day following they took them a league and a

¹²⁹Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 130-135.

¹³⁰Oviedo, III, 604-605.

half from there to another village of seventy or eighty *ranchos*, at which they ate *tunas* in much abundance and there they received them as in the first village, and they were given twenty-eight loaves of meal, which is one thing these people there eat, called *mesquite*. . . . There they rested that day and the day following, and from there they took them another six leagues forward in this manner to other *ranchos*, . . . and there went with them many men and women. . . . They arrived at a village where the Christians were received as well as in the places they had passed and even better. . . . Many of these Indians were blind, and great numbers were one-eyed from clouds [cataracts]. They were a people of very good disposition, and the men and women were of good activity. . . . Near there were the mountains, and there was one *Cordillera* of them which appeared to cross the land straight to the north.

From there they took these Christians forward to a river which was at the foot of the point of where commenced the said mountain. There they had forty or fifty *ranchos*. . . . All that night was spent in great games and feasts. . . . That night they sent to call people down toward the sea, and the following day many men and women came to see these Christians and their miracles. . . . These labored much to take them toward the sea, because there they thought to retrieve their losses. . . . They said they had many people who would give the Christians many things. But they would not go [toward the sea], but higher into the interior, because [experience] warned them against the people of the coast, and also because they had always told them that they could not escape to the sea or to the sunset; and they feared to give in and go there when they thought so little of the idea. For these reasons they wanted to go higher. The Indians did not hinder them much. They said that there were no people nor food but very far from there. . . . As they . . . would not change their proposition . . . the Indians . . . sent to find people.

A comparison of the two narratives shows that while the main facts stated are identical, the two accounts give different details. Thus, while Cabeza de Vaca states that it was from the village of the blind Indians that they first saw mountains, and Oviedo first mentions mountains as being near the same place, Cabeza de Vaca says that these mountains "swept down from the direction of the North Sea," and that from what the Indians told them they believed these were fifteen leagues from the ocean, while Oviedo says that one *cordillera* appeared to cross the land "straight to the north." Cabeza de Vaca says that they went

from this village, "toward the mountains aforesaid"; Oviedo's account of the same journey is that it was six leagues forward, to a village on a river, which was "at the foot of the point where commenced the said mountain." This was a village of forty or fifty *ranchos*, whose people were relatives of the blind Indians. Cabeza de Vaca says that these Indians "sent to a village nearby," for other people. Oviedo says that they "sent to call others down toward the sea."

The two accounts agree that these Indians wanted to take them to certain of their kindred, but Cabeza de Vaca states that these kindred dwelt on a spur of the mountains, while Oviedo says that they dwelt toward the sea. The narratives agree that their reason for refusing to go to these people, or in their direction, was because of their bitter experience with the coast Indians. Hence they preferred going "higher into the interior," rather than going toward the coast or toward sunset.

According to Oviedo the village of the blind Indians was about ten leagues forward from the river, which was as wide as the Guadalquivir at Sevilla. At such a distance southwest of the crossing of the Rio Grande near Penitas the travelers would have seen on their left the Sierra Pamoranes with the high peaks of the Sierra San Carlos beyond "sweeping down from the direction of the North Sea" while on to their right they would have seen the mountains of Cerralvo crossing the country, "straight to the north," with the Rio Pesquería, the northern branch of the San Juan, "at the foot of the point where begins the said mountain." Since these are the first mountains to be seen near the Gulf coast, west and south from Florida, and since the Sierra Pamoranes are "a spur of the mountains," within the required leagues of the coast, and all the minor topographical details mentioned in the narratives are here to be found on the ground, this village from which the Spaniards ceased to go forward, "toward Pánuco," and went, instead, "up that river," and, after three or four days' journey for many leagues inland, "straight to the north," may be definitely located on the Rio Pesquería, near the San Juan confluence. On this river they found the first maize which they saw after leaving Florida.

(h) The Indian Tribes Near the First Mountains

Judge Coopwood has collated much valuable information concerning the Indian tribes of northern Tamaulipas and Nuevo León, principally from Prieto's *Historia Geográfica y Estadística del Estado de Tamaulipas*.¹³¹

Prieto says that Indians of a tribe called Malaguecos were located at the present site of Mier when that town was founded by Escandón in 1753. These Indians were of a most docile and timid character. They made no objection to the founding of the Spanish town on the site of their village, congregated with the white settlers of their own volition, became mixed with the Spanish settlers, and soon lost their language and tribal identity. Judge Coopwood suggests, with reason, that these Indians may well have been identical with Cabeza de Vaca's Maliacones.

Cabeza de Vaca's white Indians, among whom the Spaniards were when they saw the first mountains, Judge Coopwood identifies with a well known tribe of Indians found in this region, whom the Spaniards, from the earliest times distinguished as Blancos, Borrados, Pintos, and Rayones. These Indians are supposed to have been of Nahoan stock, and were widely distributed in Nuevo León and northern Tamaulipas. Prieto says that in 1750 they were known under the name of Borrados, on the left margin of the Rio Grande, above the site of the present town of Zapata, and that when Escandón explored the country from the south end of the Sierra Pamoranes to the coast—a moderate day's ride—he found there a congregation of these Indians under the name of Pintos. These may well have been the Indians to whom the visitors from “down toward the sea,” wished to take the Spaniards from the village on the river “at the foot of the point” of the mountain. Prieto says, also, that Escandón's expedition in 1749 found fields of maize and beans between the *Rio Conchas* and the *Rio Santander* (Soto La Marina). This expedition noted the Sierra Pamoranes, north of the Sierra San Carlos, with the open plain between, through which flows the Río Conchas.¹³²

¹³¹Coopwood, THE QUARTERLY, III, 136; Prieto, pp. 186-187.

¹³²Coopwood, THE QUARTERLY, III, 136-137; Velasco, *Geografía Estadística de Nuevo León*, p. 8; Prieto, p. 175-152.

Prieto notes also,¹³³ that under the names of *guages*, a species of gourd or calabash has always been known in Tamaulipas. When these are dried by the heat of fires, and the seeds and filaments removed, the shell remains like wood, ready to receive in its hollow all kinds of liquor.

Velasco,¹³⁴ in his *Geografía y Estadística de Nuevo León*, says that when the Spaniards settled Nuevo León, families of these white Indians (Borrados) were found where Monterey now stands and in the surrounding country, and others (Blancos) at Monte Morelos and Terán.

The lower order of Mexicans, in communities such as Mier, Roma, Camargo and Rio Grande City, which absorbed tribes of these "Indios Blancos" are noticeably lighter colored and more intelligent than the corresponding class of Mexicans elsewhere on the lower Rio Grande.

11. *From the River of Maize to The Beautiful River*

(a) Up the River of Maize

CABEZA DE VACA:¹³⁵ The next day we departed, taking many of them along, the women carrying the water. . . . After going two leagues we met the men sent out in search of people, but who had not found any. . . . The Indians took mournful leave of us and turned back down the river to their homes, while we proceeded along the stream upwards. Soon we met two women carrying loads . . . they brought us of what these contained, which was corn meal, and told us that higher up on the river we would meet with dwellings, plenty of tunas, and of that same meal. We . . . walked on until at sunset we reached a village of about twenty lodges. . . . We traveled in . . . company [of these last Indians] for three days. They took us to where there were many Indians [whose] medicine men gave us two gourds.

OVIEDO:¹³⁶ The second day following the Christians departed, and many people went with them. They had many women, who carried water for the road. This was scarce among them, and the weather was very warm. They also carried food . . . after travelling two leagues, they met the Indians who had gone to find people. They said they had found none, except very far from there. The Indians . . . returned . . . weeping,

¹³³Coopwood, *THE QUARTERLY*, III, 179; Prieto, p. 121, *Note*.

¹³⁴See *note* 132.

¹³⁵Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 136-138.

¹³⁶Oviedo, III, pp. 605-606.

leaving their loads. These the Christians carried on their backs, and went, by that river upward, all the rest of the day. At night they met some Indians who took them to eight or nine *ranchos*, which were placed in a craggy spot among thorns. . . . The next day they departed from there and spent that night on the road, and the day following they went to many *ranchos*.

A slight discrepancy in the narratives is noticeable here. Oviedo accounts for one more day at the village near the foot of the point of the mountain than does Cabeza de Vaca; while Cabeza de Vaca accounts for one more day in the journey up the river. Both narratives distinctly state that the first day's journey after leaving the white Indians was up that river. The river is not mentioned again, but since the women they met the first day told them that they would find maize, tunas and people "up that river," and no mention is made of any alternative route, it is reasonable to infer that they continued in the same direction until they turned inland as noted in the next stage of the narratives. Cabeza de Vaca accounts for four days journey after leaving the white Indians before turning inland. Oviedo accounts for one less day, but implies that the distance traveled was thirty leagues, which is equivalent to four days journey.¹³⁷

(b) From the Inland Turn to The Beautiful River

CABEZA DE VACA:¹³⁸ Thence we turned inland for more than fifty leagues, following the slopes of the mountains, and at the end of them met forty dwellings. There among other things which they gave us, Andres Dorantes got a big rattle of copper, large, on which was represented a face. They claimed to have brought it from the north. . . . Leaving on the next day we crossed a mountain seven leagues long, the stones of which were iron slags [*Scoriae*].¹³⁹ At night we came to many dwellings situated on the banks of a very beautiful river. . . . The inmates of these abodes gave us a number of pouches with *margaritas* and powdered antimony (or lead) with which they paint their faces, and many beads and robes of cowskins. These people ate tunas and pine nuts; there are in that country small trees of the sweet pine, the cones of which are like small eggs, but the

¹³⁷Baskett, THE QUARTERLY, X, 273-274.

¹³⁸Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 138-140.

¹³⁹As indicated by Bandelier, Cabeza de Vaca's statement that the stones of the mountains were "*Scoriae*" of iron, suggests iron slag—hence, lava, and not iron ore, as Mr. Baskett seems to imply. Mr. Frank C. Pierce of Brownsville is our authority for the statement that lava is found in large quantities on the slopes of the Sierra Madre in the vicinity of Monclova.

nuts are better than those of Castilla because the husks are thin. When still green they grind them and make balls that are eaten. When dried, they grind the nuts with the husks and eat them as meal.

OVIEDO:¹⁴⁰ In this manner they went by the skirts of the mountains eighty leagues, a little more or less, entering through the land inland, straight to the north. There they met, at the foot of the mountain, four *ranchos* of another nation and tongue, who said they were there from more inland, and that they went by that road to their land. There they gave the Christians a rattle of copper, and certain shawls (*Mantas*) of cotton. They said that these came from toward the north, across the land toward the sea of the south. The next day they entered through the mountains toward the west, and [these Indians] took them to some *ranchos* near a beautiful river. . . . When they arrived there, where they gave them this rattle, they had marched a hundred and fifty leagues, a little more or less, from where they commenced to travel.

It may be noted that the narratives here use the expression "inland," and "toward the north," interchangeably. As Mr. Bassett has shown, by adding four days travel, or about thirty leagues, to Cabeza de Vaca's estimate of fifty leagues for the inland journey, we have about the eighty leagues, which Oviedo says they travelled "in this manner," that is from tribe to tribe, without special incident, from the village at "the foot of the point" of the first mountains to the village at the foot of the mountain where they received the copper rattle. Hence the estimates of distances in the two narratives appear to be consistent. Deducting this eighty leagues from the one hundred and fifty leagues which they had marched since beginning to travel leaves seventy leagues, as the distance behind the village "at the foot of the point" of the mountains, a sufficient distance to account for the journey from the point where they escaped the Mariames.

A journey of thirty leagues up the Pesquería from the vicinity of the San Juan-Pesquería junction would take the travellers well into the fertile plateau which lies north and northeast of Monterey,¹⁴¹ between the eastern Sierra Madre and the Cerralvo moun-

¹⁴⁰Oviedo, III, p. 606.

¹⁴¹When Taylor attacked Monterey in 1846, he transported his army by steamboat from Matamoras to Camargo, near the head of navigation on the San Juan, and from there marched overland to Marín, on the upper Pesquería, in two columns, one of which took the road *via* China, up the

tains. A journey of fifty leagues to the north, across this plateau would be along the skirts of the Sierra Madre, and would terminate on the east side of these mountains opposite some of the branches of the *Rio Nadadores*—the River of Monclova (or Coahuila), which must have been the “Beautiful River.” From the earliest times the Nadadores and its upper tributaries have been famous for magnificent groves of cypress, pecan, and walnut. Groves of these trees now border these streams, which are still fine mountain rivers, though much depleted by the use of their waters for irrigation.

On the banks of this “beautiful river” the Spaniards ate the first *piñones*, and were given the first buffalo robes. Hence they must have been near the southwestern limits of the buffalo range, and the southern limits of the piñón country. Judge Coopwood has shown that the buffalo range extended to the eastern edge of the Sierra Madre in central Coahuila. The mountains of Coahuila are covered with piñón trees, which grow but scantily in Texas.

valley of the San Juan, while the other went by the upper road, *via* Mier and Cerralvo. An officer of volunteers who accompanied the latter column published an account of his experiences, which is worth comparing with the Cabeza de Vaca narratives because the writer, like the Spanish pilgrims, was absolutely without any preconceived impressions concerning the region described. He estimates the distance from Camargo to Cerralvo at twenty-five leagues, and with regard to topography of this route, says:

“From Mier the mountains of Cerralvo were discerned in the misty distance. . . . On the fourth day [from Camargo] we encamped by a clear and rapid stream near Pantaguada, . . . the village of Marin is picturesquely situated on the edge of an extensive and elevated plateau. It commands a vast prospect in the direction of Monterey, and a charming little valley [that of the Pesqueria] blooms at its feet, . . . before reaching Marin, the road, deflecting to the West, brought us almost imperceptibly into a broad valley, which was enclosed on the one side by the gigantic Sierra Madre, and on the other side by the Cerralvo range. The mountains, first seen from Mier, floating like clouds in the distance, now reared their bold and rugged peaks far into the sky. . . . The Sierra Madre chain differs from all that I have seen in the abruptness with which it rises, like a vast wall, from the bosom of the plain. . . . The Sierra Madre wears no forest drapery around its majestic form. A few pines and cedars alone fringe its summits, or crown the pinnacle of some jutting crag.” (*Campaign in Northern Mexico, by an Officer of the First Ohio Volunteers*, p. 50, *et seq.*)

The mountains of Cerralvo can be plainly seen from Camargo, “floating like clouds in the distance,” and it is difficult to understand how an army could have remained there several weeks without discerning them. They are of course seen more easily from Mier, which is fifteen miles further west.

12. *From the Beautiful River to the Permanent Houses*

(a) The Valleys, the Big River, and the Plains Beyond

CABEZA DE VACA:¹⁴² After leaving these people we traveled among so many different tribes and languages that nobody's memory can recall them all.¹⁴³ . . . The number of our companions became so large that we could no longer control them. Going through these valleys each Indian carried a club three palms in length. They all moved in a front, and whenever a hare (of which there are many), jumped up they closed in upon the game, and rained such blows upon it that it was amazing to see . . . when at night we camped . . . each one [of the four] of us had eight or ten loads. Those of the Indians who carried bows would not take part, but went to the mountains after deer, and when at night they came back it was with five or six deer for each one of us, with birds, quail, and other game . . . the women brought many mats with which they built us houses. . . . While traveling with those we crossed a big river coming from the north, and traversing about thirty leagues of plains, met a number of people that came from afar to meet us on the trail.

OVEDO:¹⁴⁴ And from these *ranchos* where they gave them these things, they carried the Christians to five groups or congregations of *ranchos*, of more than two thousand souls, who, on all the road never left them. They killed by the road many jack rabbits and deer . . . in these *ranchos*, to which they took them, were many people of good disposition, and there they gave them very great quantities of *Piñones* (Pine nuts), [which were] very good, better than those of Castilla, because they have a shell of a kind

¹⁴²Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 142-144.

¹⁴³A hint as to these "many different tribes and languages" is found in Judge Coopwood's paper (THE QUARTERLY, III, 239-240), following Velasco, *Geografía y Estadística* (Vol. "Coahuila," pp. 9-10). "At the arrival of the Spaniards there lived in the prairies and on the *Cordilleras* to the west of the Bravo, the *Toboso Indians*, to the north the *Iritiles*. The Coahuiltecas lived in the eastern part of the state, as did the *Cuachichiles*, tribes which have disappeared." After filling nearly three pages with names of tribes living in Coahuila, says Judge Coopwood, Velasco continues: "In addition to all these tribes which form the Texano-Coahuiltecan family, whose tongue is very much like the Mexican, there existed, according to the letter of the Viceroy, Conde de Revillagigedo, in reference to the supposed missions, the tribes of the Babelas, Quequisales, Pinancas, Baquames, Isipopolames, Pies de Venado, Chacapes, Payaques, Gicocoges, Goreías, Borecoras, Escaos, Cocobitas, Codames, Tasmamaves, Filifacs, Junaces, Toamares, Bapancorapinacas, Babosarigames, Paseos, Mescales, Xarames, Chacaquales, Hijames, Terocodames and Cayilanes." To this formidable array Judge Coopwood adds the names of twelve other tribes from Mota Padilla, and twenty-two from *Memorias a Nueva España*, Vol. XXXI, folio, Archivo General, Mexico.

¹⁴⁴Oviedo, III, p. 606.

that they eat with the rest. The cones of them are very small, and the trees thick, through those mountains, in quantities.

And from there they took them forward many days, and they traveled cautiously without meeting any other people, and when they saw they could find none they sent to all parts to seek them; and there came *ranchos* from more than fifteen or twenty leagues away to await them on the road.

Both narratives are indefinite as to directions traveled after leaving the beautiful river, probably for the reason that the road was a winding one. The last direction mentioned by Oviedo was the course of the journey from the place where they received the copper rattle to the beautiful river. This journey was to the west, but this seems to have been a mere deflection, and not a change in the general course of the journey.¹⁴⁵ The people who gave them the rattle were from the north and were returning to their homes, and had received the rattle from some of their neighbors. The journey across the mountains was probably to interview these neighbors, who were then near the beautiful river, concerning the rattle and whence it came. The journey forward was with one or both of these peoples, from the north, and homeward bound, hence, the journey must have been generally in a northerly direction. The first part of the journey was through very populous valleys, which abounded in game. At the end of this stage they crossed a big river coming from the north, and beyond it they traversed thirty leagues of plains. Throughout this journey *piñones* were abundant.

They now turned northward, their reason for doing so in the

¹⁴⁵Oviedo (III, p. 606) says that the Indians who gave them the copper rattle ("Cascabel de Latón") and the cotton shawls (*mantas*) said that these things "came from the north, across the land from the Sea of the South." The Indians at the Beautiful River told them that the Indians who had given them the copper rattle had plenty of that metal. From this the Spaniards gathered that the rattle came from a country where they cast metals, and that this country was situated on the "South Sea."

Cabeza de Vaca (pp. 134-142) says that those who gave them the copper rattle said it had been obtained from some of their neighbors. Upon asking these whence it had come, they claimed to have brought it from the north, where there was much of it and highly prized. From this the Spaniards understood that wherever it might have come from there must be foundries where metal was cast in molds. The Indians of the Beautiful River told them that where it came from there were a great many sheets of this metal buried; that it was highly valued, and that there were fixed abodes at the place. The Spaniards believed it to be near the South Sea, because they had always heard that that sea was richer than the one of the north.

first place was to go around the mountains—in military parlance to “turn” them. The mountains lay before them to the westward; they were told that they could not “get out” toward sunset, nor along the coast, and they feared to return to the seashore because of the bad character of its inhabitants. Hence they entered the land inland “straight to the north,” with the skirts of the mountains, and continued in that direction until they came to the plain “beyond the chain of mountains,” from whence they immediately sought to go, and eventually did go, toward the west.

From the region of Monclova, the most available route for a northward journey for a time veers somewhat toward the northeast. It approximates the route of the Mexican International Railway from Monclova to Eagle Pass. Near Monclova it would wind through beautiful valleys, which to this day are noted for great abundance of game, and which from the earliest known days were densely inhabited; and between mountains clad with *piñon* trees. Some thirty or forty leagues beyond Monclova this route crosses the Sabinas River, which comes from the north. The Sabinas here is a large river, at least a hundred yards wide, beautifully clear; and simply teems with fish. It is described by a recent traveler¹⁴⁶ as much resembling the San Marcos River

¹⁴⁶Mr. Henry Edds of Hebbronville, who has extensive interests in Coahuila. He is confirmed by Mr. Frank C. Pierce of Brownsville.

Compare with the text the diary of Fernando del Bosque, who journeyed northward from Monclova to the “Sierra Dacate” (Anacocho Mountains), in Texas, in May, 1675. Bolton, “the Bosque-Larios Expedition” in *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706*.

Bosque says that from Monclova he traveled down the river toward the north, having on the right hand toward sunrise some large peaks of rocks like sugar loaves. Passing beyond these, he crossed the Nadadores, sixteen leagues north of Monclova. Beyond this river he journeyed toward the north, keeping always on the left a high, long mountain range, which forms what resembles a chain, and runs from south to north, and at fourteen leagues north of the Nadadores, always keeping the mountain range on the same hand, crossed the Sabinas river—“A large river, very beautiful, with many groves of very large cedars, cottonwoods, and mesquite brush, and with great plains of land which are very pleasing with green grass.” On the following day he traveled northward twelve leagues and camped at a watering-place, and on the next day seven leagues northward, and arrived at a watering-place where there was plenty of water and wide plains, “In the middle of which there was much mesquite.” The next day’s journey was about six leagues, through plains with mesquite groves, to a camp among some low hills having oak trees. Three leagues beyond this camp they found a stream “Very pleasing to the sight, having many cottonwoods, willows, mesquites and guisaches, and wide plains with very green grass,” and after travelling three more leagues, through plains with much mesquite and with fine pastures of green grass—thirty-one leagues

at San Marcos, Texas, except that it is five or six times larger. This traveler saw it near the town of Sabinas, where the Mexican International crosses it. Northeast of the Sabinas, and between that river and the Rio Grande about Del Rio and Eagle Pass, is a rolling, grass covered prairie, bounded on the west by rough and rather barren mountains. The prairie extends northward until it merges into the "desert of Coahuila," a rough and mountainous country, through which the Rio Grande cuts its way, generally through deep cañons, from west to east—the notorious "Big Bend" region, about the middle Rio Grande.¹⁴⁷

Cabeza de Vaca's "so many different nations and tongues that nobody's memory can recall them all," congregated in Oviedo's five groups of *ranchos*, affords convincing evidence of the correctness of this location of the route. These "many different nations and tongues," were found later among the numerous Coahuiltecan

in all since crossing the Sabinas, he arrived "At a very copious and very wide river, with a current more than four hundred varas across, which the Indians said was called 'Rio del Norte.'"

A glimpse of the same region from a different view point may be had from the diary of Judge Anderson Hutchinson, one of the prisoners taken at Bexar by the Woll Expedition in September, 1842. Hutchinson, with his fellow prisoners, crossed the Rio Grande at Presidio Rio Grande, and from there he was taken up the Rio Grande to San Fernando "Through a beautiful and rich plain, well watered." They left San Fernando October 7, and lodged that night in a rich, irrigable plain. On the 8th they marched twenty-five miles, half of the day's march being through small hills perfectly barren, and slept that night on a bed of rocks, in a norther. On the next day they marched thirty miles and camped on the banks of the Sabinas river, described as a deep and rapid stream, nearly as large as the Brazos. The night of October 11, they spent at Hacienda del Alamos, thirty miles from the Sabinas, in a rich, well-watered plain, in view of the Candela and Monclova mountains. On the 12th they traveled twenty miles, crossed a "Small, deep, rapid stream called the Rio Salado," and bore westward to a gap in the Hermanos mountains, "Being the eastern verge of the grand Sierra Madres," and spent the night at an Hacienda among the mountains. On the 15th they reached Monclova "On the west foot of the longest mountain we had seen. Beautiful town." They continued toward Saltillo on the 17th, and on the 19th Hutchinson again referred to the "Long low mountain on our left, always terminating and never ending."—Winkler, "The Bexar and Dawson Prisoners," in *THE QUARTERLY*, XIII, 301-302.

¹⁴⁷Mr. A. García Tovar of San Diego, Texas, has materially assisted in the study of the natural history and topography of central Coahuila.

tribes of Nuevo León and Coahuila,¹⁴⁸ and were found nowhere else, in a *piñon* region east of the Sierra Madre.¹⁴⁹

(b) With the Peoples from Afar

CABEZA DE VACA:¹⁵⁰ These guided us for more than fifty leagues through a desert of very rugged mountains and so arid that there was no game. Consequently we suffered much from lack of food, and finally forded a very big river, with its water reaching to our chest. Thence on many of our people began to show the effects of the hunger and hardships they had undergone in those mountains, which were extremely barren and tiresome to travel. The same Indians led us to a plain beyond the chain of mountains where people came to meet us from a long distance. . . . We told these people that our route was toward sunset, and they replied that in that direction people lived very far away, so we ordered them to send there and inform the inhabitants that we were coming, and how. From this they begged to be excused because the others were their enemies . . . they sent . . . two women, one of their own and a captive. . . . We followed the women to a place where it had been agreed that we should wait for them. After five days they had not returned . . . so we told them to take us north, and they replied that there were no people, except very far away, and neither food nor water . . . when we had been [there] already three days the women whom we had sent out, returned, saying that they had met very few people, nearly all having gone after the cows; as it was the season. So we ordered . . . that two days travel from there, the same women should go with us and get people to come to meet us on the trail for our own reception. . . . At the end of three days' journey we halted. Alonso del Castillo and Estevanico, the negro, left with the women as guides, and the woman who was a captive took them to a river that flows between mountains, where there was a village in which her father lived, and these were the first abodes we saw that were like unto real houses.

OVIEDO:¹⁵¹ These took them forward through some rough mountains more than fifty other leagues, with much hunger, through the bad quality of the land, which had no tunas and nothing else . . . and thus they took them to more than a

¹⁴⁸See note 143. The De León Expedition of 1689 encountered "five nations joined together," in eighty-five huts, on the lower Nadadores. These were the Hapes, Jumanes, Xiabo, Mescalé, and another. (Translation of diary by Miss West, *THE QUARTERLY*, VIII, 205.)

¹⁴⁹Coopwood, *THE QUARTERLY*, III, 181-189; Williams, *THE QUARTERLY*, III, 61; Ponton and McFarland, *THE QUARTERLY*, I, 181-183.

¹⁵⁰Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 145-150.

¹⁵¹Oviedo, III, pp. 607-608.

hundred *ranchos* that awaited them in a plain, that had come there from afar, and had many people with them. All of these, the ones and the others, gave them *piñones* in quantities. These told them that there were no people except very far from there, and that these were their enemies. . . . So these Indians decided to send two women, one that they had captured from those from whence they came, and another who went with her. . . .

They had agreed that they should await the women, and the reply that they brought, and so they halted three days. They did not want to take the Christians to other regions, because of the war that they had. . . . At the end of two or three days . . . the women came, and brought very ruinous news. They said that the people they had gone to seek were gone to the cows, and that through all that region there were no people. Seeing this the Indians said that they were all sick, as the Christians saw; and that they were from very far away. The Christians could go toward the cows, which were up toward the north, and there find people, and could remain with these while they [the Indians] would go to other lands, because they had very great hunger since the tunas were gone. The Christians told them no, that they had to take them from there toward the west, because that was their straight road. . . . The second day following they departed from there and traveled three days. . . . They parted from Alonso del Castillo, whom they found most esteemed, and he went with the negro and the Indian women, who took them to a river where they found people, and permanent houses, and some beans and pumpkins that they eat, although very few.

The village on the river among the mountains, where they found the first permanent houses, has long been identified as a settlement of *Jumano* Indians near the site of the present town of Presidio, on the left bank of the Rio Grande opposite the mouth of the Rio Conchas. A brief summary of the evidence upon which this identification is based is as follows:

1. Castañeda and Jaramillo, chroniclers of the Coronado Expedition, state that Coronado's army, while among the "Cows" (buffalo) on the hard plains east of New Mexico, encountered Indians who had seen Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes. Jaramillo's informant had seen them "Rather more toward New Spain" than where these Indians then were, which was in a ravine on the eastern edge of the staked plains. The Indians who dwelt there in the next century were Jumanos, related to those who then dwelt on the Rio Grande, near the Conchas junction.¹⁵²

¹⁵²*The Coronado Expedition*, by George Parker Winship, Fourteenth Re-

2. "The Gentleman of Elvas," one of the De Soto chroniclers, says that after De Soto had been granted the Governorship of Florida, and was preparing for his expedition thither, Cabeza de Vaca arrived at Court from the Indies, and brought a written relation of his adventures. In this he spoke principally of the poverty of the country, and the hardships which he had undergone, but reserved mention of certain things which he had seen for the ear of the Emperor. This he had promised Dorantes, who remained in New Spain with the purpose of returning into Florida, while Cabeza de Vaca, as his part of their joint enterprise, besought from the Emperor the Governorship of that country.

At the earliest opportunity Cabeza de Vaca spoke with the Emperor. The Marquis of Astorga was informed of his verbal communication to the Emperor, and was so impressed thereby that he sent two of his kinsmen with De Soto.

After De Soto's death Moscoso led his army from Red River in a southwesterly direction into Texas, until it came to the "Daycao" river. Probably the Colorado below Austin. The region beyond this stream the Spaniards considered to be that which Cabeza de Vaca had said in his narrative would have to be traversed, "While the Indians wandered like Arabs, having no settled place of residence, living on prickly pears, the roots of plants and game," and the leaders decided to turn back. Many of the rank and file opposed this action because they had found cotton cloth among some Indians near the Daycao, and, "According to what Cabeza de Vaca told the Emperor, that after seeing cotton cloth would be found gold, silver and stones of much value, and they were not yet come to where he had wandered, for before arriving there he had always traveled along the coast, and they were marching far within the land; hence, by keeping toward the west, they must unavoidably come to where he had been, as he said that he had gone in a certain region for a long time and marched northward into the interior."¹⁵³

3. Antonio Espejo led an expedition down the Conchas, and port Bureau Ethnology (1892-1893, I, 504-507, 587-589); *Expedition of Coronado*, in Hodge & Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in Southern United States*, 1528-1542.

¹⁵³Lewis, *Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto, by the Gentleman of Elvas*, in *Spanish Explorers in Southern United States*, 1528-1543, 136, 244-247.

up the Rio Grande, from Southern Chihuahua to the pueblo region of New Mexico in December, 1582, and January, 1583, found the Jumano Indians living on both sides of the Rio Grande, in the vicinity of the junction with the Conchas. Concerning the Jumanos he says:

This nation appeared to be very numerous, and had large permanent pueblos. In it we saw five pueblos with more than ten thousand Indians, and flat roofed houses, well arranged into pueblos. They have maize, gourds, beans, game of foot and wing, and fish of many kinds from two rivers that carry much water, one of them which must be about half the size of Guadalquivir flows directly from the north, and empties into the Conchas river. The Conchas, which must be about the size of Guadalquivir, flows into the north sea. Great numbers of them went with us and showed us a river from the north, as has been mentioned above. On the banks of this river Indians of this nation are settled for a distance of twelve days journey. Some of them have flat-roofed houses, and others live in grass huts . . . Some gave us . . . buffalo hides, very well tanned. . . . These Indians appear to have some knowledge of our Holy Catholic faith, because they point to God Our Lord, looking up into the heavens . . . and say it is He whom they recognize as their Lord who gives them what they have. Many of them, men, women and children, came to have the religious and us Spaniards bless them, which made them appear very happy. They told us, and gave us to understand through interpreters, that three christians and a negro had passed through there, and by the indications they gave, they appeared to have been Alonso Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Castillo Maldonado, and a negro, who had all escaped from the fleet with which Panfilo Narvaez entered Florida.¹⁵⁴

4. Vicente Saldivar, one of Oñate's Captains, while on the buffalo plains of the Texas Panhandle in 1599, remarked that "We all understood this to be . . . the route followed by Dorantes, Cabeza de Vaca and the negro, who came thence to this land, and to the Rancherias and mountains of the Potarabueyes." "Potarabueyes" was a Spanish name for "Jumanos."¹⁵⁵

5. The only ancient inhabitants of western Texas, New Mexico, or northeastern Mexico who are known to have grown crops

¹⁵⁴Bolton, *Narrative of Espejo*, in *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, 172-176.

¹⁵⁵Bolton, *The Oñate Expedition*, in *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 224-225.

without irrigation, in the manner indicated in the narratives, were those who resided near Presidio.

6. The narratives state that the next fifteen or seventeen days' journey after leaving the first permanent houses was up the river "Which flows among mountains" on which these houses were situated, and along its eastern bank.

The river was then crossed and the journey continued to the westward for seventeen to twenty days more, to a people who lived near the Pacific Coast. The river "Which flows among mountains," then, was the last large river crossed before reaching the Pacific slope.

7. The length of the journey up this river, from the first permanent houses, approximates the distance from Presidio to the region of El Paso, where the Florida Plain, which extends westward toward the Pacific slope, approaches the Rio Grande. The journey "toward sunset" from the river was in part, at least, across a rather barren plain.

Having located the two ends of this inland journey of more than two hundred leagues from the "river of Maize" to the "river of Permanent Houses," it follows that the natural history and topographical features mentioned in the narratives should be found in the region between. All of these have been pointed out.

The barren mountains are found on both sides of the middle Rio Grande. A journey of fifty leagues through this barren and inhospitable region would take the travelers across the Rio Grande in the "Big Bend" country, and well into the limestone plateau beyond. Presidio, near the Rio Grande-Conchas junction, lies thirty leagues or more to the west, across a similarly barren and rather mountainous region.

13. From the River of Permanent Houses to the Maize Region on the Pacific Slope

(a) Up the River of Permanent Houses

OVIEDO:¹⁵⁶ With these Indians [who had come to meet them from the permanent houses], they departed, and continued their journey to their houses, which were five or six leagues from there on that river, where they sowed. But because of the many people that they had, and the little and very rough land, it was little that they harvested. They took them by that river upward

¹⁵⁶Oviedo, III, pp. 608-609.

to four groups of villages they had. They had little to eat, and this was beans and pumpkins and very little maize.

There they told them that onward they had no more flour, nor beans, nor anything else to eat until thirty or forty days journey more forward, which was going from the region where the sun sets to the north, from where these Indians had to provide themselves, and bring those seed; that all the Indians that they had to go (through) there had much hunger, and that they had to go by that river upward toward the north, another nine or ten days' journey to the river crossing; that from there they had to cross. All the rest they had to go to the west, to where they had much maize. This they had also, toward the right hand, to the north, and more down through all that land, which must have been to the coast, which they then seemed to follow, but that was very much farther away, and that this other was much nearer, and that they were all friends to there, and of one tongue. These Indians gave them great quantities of robes of cows, and said that these were killed near there in summer, and that they had many. Thus they went by this river upward the nine days' journey, travelling each day until night, with very great hunger, always sleeping at night in houses, and with people who gave them many robes of cows, and other things, which they would have gladly exchanged for a few pieces of beef; because they gave them nothing to eat, and had nothing, except one thing that these Indians called *Masarrones*, which they gather from some trees, which was very bad, and not good even for beasts, but for some of them who grind it with stones. In the end it is all very fine, and thus they eat it. The Christians ate some small pieces of deer fat that they brought on their backs. They found on the road a few people, who told them that they were going to eat the cows, three days journey from there in some plains among the mountains, that they said come from upward toward the sea, and these were going there also. Thus they travelled by that river upward fifteen days' journey, without resting, by reason of the much hunger that they had.

CABEZA DE VACA:¹⁵⁷ At the end of three days Castillo returned to where he had left us. . . . He told how he had found permanent houses, inhabited, the people of which ate beans and squashes, and that he had also seen maize. . . . We started, and after going a league and a half met the negro and the people. . . . We went on with [them] . . . and six leagues beyond, when night was already approaching, reached their houses. . . . We called them "de los Vacas" because most of the cows die near there, and because for more than fifty leagues up that stream they go to kill many of them. . . . The country is well settled. We asked them why they did not raise maize, and

¹⁵⁷Cabeza de Vaca, pp. 150-155.

they replied that they were afraid of losing the crops, since for two successive years it had not rained, and the seasons were so dry that the moles had eaten the corn, so that they did not dare to plant any more until it had rained very hard. And they also begged us to ask Heaven for rain. . . . We also wanted to know from where they brought their maize, and they said it came from where the sun sets, and that it was found all over that country, and the shortest way to it was in that direction. We asked them to tell us how to go, as they did not want to go themselves; to tell us about the way.

They said we should travel up the river toward the north, on which trail for seventeen days we should not find a thing to eat, except a fruit called *Chacan* which they grind between stones; but even then it cannot be eaten, being so coarse and dry. . . . But they also said that going up stream we would always travel among people who were their enemies, although speaking the same language, and who could give us no food, but would receive us willingly, and give us many cotton blankets, hides and other things; but that it seemed to them that we ought not to take that road. In doubt as to what should be done, and which was the best and most advantageous road to take we remained with them for two days.

After two days were past we determined to go in search of maize, and not to follow the road to the cows, since the latter carried us to the north which meant a very great circuit, as we held it always certain that by going toward sunset we should reach the goal of our wishes. So we went our way, and traversed the whole country to the South Sea, and our resolution was not shaken by the fear of starvation, which the Indians said we should suffer (and indeed suffered), during the first seventeen days of travel. All along the river, and in the course of these seventeen days we received plenty of cowhides, and did not eat of their famous fruit (*Chacan*), but our food consisted [for each day] of a handful of deer tallow, which for that purpose we always sought to keep, and so we endured these seventeen days, at the end of which we crossed the river.

The text of both narratives here is clear, and requires little comment. By reason of their traffic in maize, the Indians of the first groups of permanent houses were able to direct the Spaniards how to travel for thirty or forty days journey forward—a journey which would enable them to accomplish both their immediate purpose of reaching a place where food was plentiful, and their ultimate purpose of arriving at the Pacific Coast. These Indians were intelligent, and their statements to the Spaniards con-

cerning the regions where maize could be found, and the relative distances to each, are clear and understandable.

The journey was performed in accordance with their directions, and without incident. The distance traveled "up the river to the north," to where they "had to cross," would take the travelers from Presidio to the site of El Paso, and might stretch as far as Rincon, N. M.

(b) The Westward Journey to the Maize Region

CABEZA DE VACA:¹⁵⁸ We crossed the river and marched for seventeen days more. At sunset, on a plain between very high mountains, we met people who for one-third of the year eat but powdered straw, and as we went by just at that time, had to eat it also, until, at the end of that journey, we found some permanent houses, with plenty of harvested maize, of which, and of its meal, they gave us great quantities, also squashes and beans and blankets of cotton.

OVIEDO:¹⁵⁹ From there they crossed to the west and went more than twenty other days' journey to the maize, through a people somewhat hungered, but not for long, because they ate some powder of grass, and killed many jack rabbits, of which the Christians always carried more than they could use. On this road they rested sometimes, as they were accustomed to do, and they arrived at the first houses where they had maize, which were more than two hundred leagues from Culican.

The blunders which other students have made in discussing the portions of these narratives which deal with the journey along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, warn against attempting to trace this journey into the region beyond the Rio Grande, because of our limited knowledge of the topography of southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona and northern Sonora. The "plain between high mountains," where Cabeza de Vaca found the people who ate powdered straw, at sunset after crossing the Rio Grande, could probably be identified by one familiar with the region between Rincon and El Paso. The map suggests that the western journey through this region must have been through the region about Deming, New Mexico, Douglas, Arizona, and Agua Prieta, Sonora, and that the first maize was found in the upper Sonora valley. Beyond this last point the route from north to south is

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁵⁹Oviedo, III, p. 609.

but the reversal of the track of the Coronado expedition, which came through the Sonora valley from south to north a few years later. This portion of the route was fully discussed by Br. Bassett, and with our present knowledge of the topography of this region we see no reason to question the correctness of his conclusions with regard to it.

14. *Credibility of the Narratives*

Scholars differ as to the importance and credibility to be accorded the Cabeza de Vaca narratives. Judge Coopwood discredits them utterly, except in so far as it suits him to believe them. This view is refuted by Oviedo, who says that Cabeza de Vaca's statements enjoyed general credence at Madrid in 1547. This was after the failures of De Soto and Coronado, and after Cabeza de Vaca himself had been sent home in disgrace from the Rio de la Plata, so that Cabeza de Vaca's reputation for good faith and veracity had then been subjected to the severest possible tests.

Bancroft and Bandelier voice a criticism much more insidious and dangerous. This is that the narratives, though presented in good faith, are unreliable and of little import because written from recollections only, under adverse circumstances, without aid from journals or field notes of any kind. Since Bancroft says that the two narratives, while agreeing in a general way, differ widely as to dates, directions, distances and all that could aid in tracing the route, while in Bandelier's opinion the Oviedo narrative is merely a more concise narration than the book of Cabeza de Vaca, and differs from it so little that it is unworthy of publication. Neither of these opinions appears to be entitled to much consideration.

The Oviedo account is couched in very ungrammatical Spanish, not easy to translate without paraphrasing, and Bandelier makes the same complaint with regard to Cabeza de Vaca's book, yet the meaning is always sufficiently plain. The accounts read like the testimony of two unbiased witnesses to the same transactions. The general facts related are the same, but they are told from different view points and with varying details. There is some confusion as to dates in the Oviedo account, and Cabeza de Vaca is often indefinite as to directions, and needs to be aided from Oviedo. Estimates of distances in the two accounts are gen-

erally consistent,—bearing in mind that the distances stated are estimates, and not measurements,—and are verified by the statements with regard to itinerary and topography.

Both narratives were evidently written as aids to subsequent explorers, and all landmarks seen and remembered that would be of assistance to other travelers in the same region were conscientiously noted. Read together, the two accounts depict the regions visited with surprising clearness. The landmarks noted are distinctive; the four rivers on the coast; the *ancones*, the “big water”; the “river of nuts”; the first mountains, near the coast; and the “river as wide as Guadalquivir,” are unmistakable. The inland journey, first along the skirts of a chain of mountains, extending toward the north perpendicular to the coast; thence through valleys, across a big river coming from the north and thirty leagues of plains; then through more than fifty leagues of desert mountains, to a “plain beyond the chain of mountains,”—and from there thirty or more leagues westward to a “river that flows between mountains,” is likewise as clear as such an account could then have been written, with or without field notes. The subsequent journey up the river and to the west across a plain, and finally to the southwest and south “parallel with the coast of the south sea,” is indicated in equally distinct outlines.

The imaginary journey from the coast across Texas to the northwest, to the Rio Grande-Conchas confluence, or to the *barranca* in New Mexico, upon which much study and space have been wasted, is obviously impossible. It is inconsistent with the topography and natural history of Texas, which cannot be made to approximate that described in the narratives; and it denies to such men as Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes the attribute of common sense.

Their one purpose, while on the coast of Texas, was to reach a Spanish settlement, and they knew that this could be done only by going toward the west or southwest. Certainly they would go in that direction, unless there was some powerful reason for not doing so. The narratives account specifically for ninety or a hundred leagues from Mal-Hado, westward, along the coasts, “toward Pánuco.” At the end of this stretch they joined the Avavares, because these Indians lived further on in the same direction. The Avavares lived inland, but there was but one

tribe between them and the coast. The journey was continued the following year, without noting any change in direction, until mountains were seen which appeared to bar the way, and to require them either to go by the coast, where they had been badly treated by the Indians, or else "go higher into the interior" and find passage through, or around, the mountains. Therefore, when they turned to the north it was for a reason and with a definite purpose.

In the course of this northerly journey they met a "people from afar," who gave them cotton shawls, and a copper, or brass, rattle. These, they were told, came from the northwest, from a place near the shores of the "South Sea," where copper, or brass, was abundant. They understood that metals were cast there, and that the people lived in permanent habitations.

These men had come to the new world to find such a land, drawn by Narváez's vision of another Mexico. Narváez and his army were now gone, but the four survivors were at the head of another army, a savage one, but an army which regarded them as messengers from heaven and yielded to them loyal and unquestioning obedience. Two of the four, at least, were resolute and capable men. No reason offered why they should not carry out their original purpose, and acquire by bloodless conquest, in their own right, the kingdom for which Narváez had sacrificed his army and himself. So they made their way toward the land of copper and permanent houses, by the most available route toward the north and west.

Another phase of the journey began when they found traces of Guzmán's men, but that is without the scope of this paper.

These conclusions are in no sense original. On the contrary, each main conclusion was arrived at by accepting, after due consideration, a conclusion or suggestion made by someone else. Except as to minor details, the route along the coast of Texas from Mal-Hado to the tuna region, was suggested by Mr. Baskett. The next stage of the journey, from the point where they escaped from the Mariames to the first view of the mountains, was outlined by Judge Coopwood. His conclusions require some modification, because his route crossed the Rio Grande at a point where the mountains of Cerralvo would have been seen before crossing

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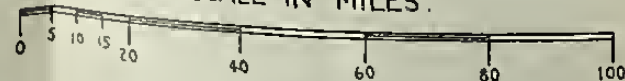
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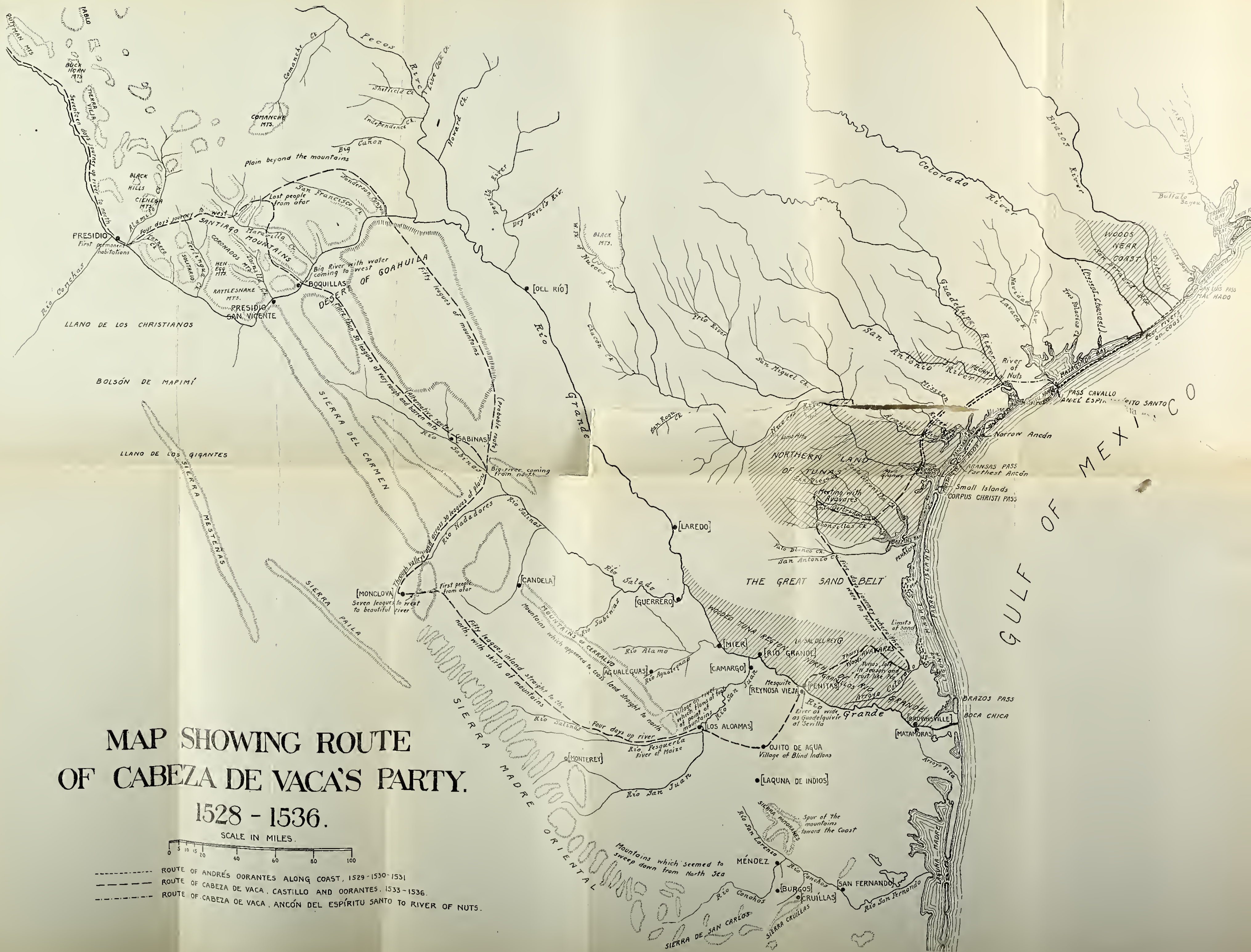
MAP SHOWING ROUTE OF CABEZA DE VACA'S PARTY.

1528 - 1536.

SCALE IN MILES.



- ROUTE OF ANDRÉS OORANTES ALONG COAST, 1529-1530-1531
- ROUTE OF CABEZA DE VACA, CASTILLO AND OORANTES, 1533-1536.
- ROUTE OF CABEZA DE VACA, ANCON DEL ESPIRITU SANTO TO RIVER OF NUTS.



the river, and not ten leagues or more beyond it, as the narratives require.

The point at the Rio Grande-Conchas junction where Espejo found traces of the Cabeza de Vaca party a generation later is well established. The journey forward from that point had been traced by Mr. Baskett, if, indeed, the narratives here could be said to require the assistance of a commentator. Two long sections of the route were thus accounted for, and Baskett had suggested a possible journey through Coahuila, from which he was led away in his search for an elusive—an illusive—iron mountain, and Judge Coopwood had, inadvertently, supplied much valuable information concerning the possibility of such a route. Given two established points on a line of travel, landmarks of a permanent nature along the line ought always to be found between the given points. When found, these serve not only to establish the line, but to verify the location of the accepted points. A comparison of the topographical, natural history and ethnological data available concerning Coahuila, with that found in the narratives, serves to establish the line of the route through Coahuila, and thus to confirm the location of the route of the other sections of the journey.

(The map facing this page was prepared under the supervision of Prof. Herbert E. Bolton.)

THE LAST STAGE OF TEXAN MILITARY OPERATIONS
AGAINST MEXICO, 1843¹

WILLIAM CAMPBELL BINKLEY

Although the story of the Texan struggle for independence from Mexico has been well told from numerous standpoints, there is one phase of her activities which has never been placed in its proper relation to the revolutionary movement. This is the series of operations carried on by Warfield and Snively in the north-western part of the territory to which the Texas government had laid claim. In practically every account Warfield has received a paragraph as a private raider, who had no connection with the government of the republic, while Snively has fared but little better, although the fact that he held instructions from the government has been more generally recognized.²

A careful study of the evidence would seem to indicate that the expeditions led by these two men, no matter how detached they may have been, were parts of the general Texan movement in opposition to the Mexican government, and not merely the isolated raids which they have usually been regarded. As such they deserve a place in the history of the Texan Revolution, scarcely less in importance than either the Santa Fé or the Mier expeditions. The avowed objects of the enterprises were in reality a combination of those of the other expeditions, and they attracted almost as much attention at the time in Texas itself. Yet the work of Snively and Warfield has remained in the background largely because no Kendall or Green chanced to have a part in it. It is the purpose of this paper, therefore, to endeavor to place it in the proper perspective.

The Background for the Operations.—From the battle of San Jacinto to the Santa Fé expedition of 1841 the Republic of Texas had carried on an aggressive struggle against Mexico, both from

¹This paper is an extract from an M. A. thesis written in the seminar of Professor Bolton, at the University of California.

²See Baneroff, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 326-329; also Baneroff, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 371-372. These accounts are based largely upon *Niles' Register*, the author having had no access to the documentary material which has since been made available. They have been followed rather closely by Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Administration," in *Old Santa Fe*, II, 153-156.

the military and from the diplomatic point of view. Territorially, her claims extended considerably beyond the boundaries which she had accepted as a Mexican state, but her diplomats, not satisfied with the Rio Grande as a boundary, had even sought to annex an outlet to the Pacific. Her army had failed, however, to secure the recognition of her independence from the central government of Mexico, and her diplomats were equally unsuccessful in securing the necessary funds for continuing the struggle. Therefore, when she received the news, early in 1842, of the disastrous outcome of the Santa Fé expedition, her future seemed precarious indeed. Her financial standing in Europe was lowered as a result of this evidence of an inability to occupy the territory claimed by the government, and a damper was placed on the confidence which had been felt in France, especially, in her ability to maintain her independence. This naturally checked not only credit, but also immigration.³ In the United States the reaction to the stories which reached the people concerning the brutal treatment of the prisoners was decidedly favorable to Texas, but aside from the work done by Waddy Thompson, the United States minister to Mexico, in securing the release of the prisoners,⁴ no direct results came from that quarter.

The most immediate returns came from Mexico. The reports which reached that country concerning the expedition furnished a semblance of truth for the repeated rumors which had been coming to the capital from the outlying districts, of a Texan invasion. As a result, the determination of the central government to subdue the Texan revolution was renewed, and a new offensive was planned. The first definite outcome was the successful Mexican attack on San Antonio in March, 1842, when the invaders took possession of the town, and after remaining two days, gathered as much property as could be easily removed, and quickly withdrew across the Rio Grande.⁵ Dissension in the Texas militia prevented any immediate action, and in September a Mexican force under General Adrian Woll surprised the place again, this time capturing fifty-five inhabitants, who were marched off to

³Smith to Jones, March 31, 1843, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1429.

⁴Thompson, *Recollections of Mexico*, 92-100.

⁵Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, I, 485.

Mexico City and imprisoned.⁶ This act called for retaliation, and the militia under General Somervell began operations along the lower Rio Grande for the purpose of making "such reprisals upon Mexico as civilized and honorable warfare would justify."⁷ But when the commander decided to disband his force after occupying Laredo, about three hundred of his men set out to capture Mier. The result was a parallel for that of the Santa Fé expedition, 226 of them being captured and marched off to the Mexican capital to be imprisoned.⁸

The disastrous outcome of these operations in the lower Rio Grande valley proved to the Texans the futility of any efforts at retaliation in that direction; but in the meantime they were turning their attention to the northwestern part of the territory over which the government claimed jurisdiction. The previous lack of knowledge concerning the country had been dispelled to a large extent by the wanderings of the Santa Fé expedition, and the Texans now understood more adequately how to operate there. In addition, two factors of more importance seem to have been responsible for the determination to conduct operations in this region. In the first place, the treatment which had been accorded to the members of the Santa Fé expedition by the military authorities in New Mexico, together with the fact that the region itself still remained to be subjugated, had its influence on the Texan attitude. The other incentive was the fact that across this district ran the Santa Fé trail, still serving as the principal route of commercial intercourse between the United States and northern Mexico. Since regular Mexican troops had not penetrated this far north, it seemed that here were possibilities for effective retaliation at a minimum risk.

The Plan for Warfield's Expedition.—The officials of Texas took the stand that "a just retribution (and if need be, an instructive one) for injuries and cruelties inflicted by an enemy is always legitimate warfare," and for the purpose of having such retribution administered, the Secretary of War and Marine on

⁶Winkler, *The Bexar and Dawson Prisoners*, in *THE QUARTERLY*, XIII, 294-313, publishes the diary of Anderson Hutchinson, one of the captives. At the time of his capture, Hutchinson was judge for the fourth judicial district of Texas.

⁷Green, *Journal of the Texian Expedition against Mier*, 479.

⁸*Ibid.*, 106.

August 16, 1842, authorized Charles A. Warfield to raise a force of men. He was given a colonel's commission, and for the purpose of avoiding any possible delay, he was told to commission such officers as he considered to be necessary, with the assurance that his appointments would be confirmed. His command was to be considered as in the service of Texas during the war, or until further orders, and its work was to levy contribution, capture Mexican property or places in the name of Texas, and to deliver to the government one-half of the spoils which might be taken from the enemy. The other half was to belong to the captors, and was to be distributed among the men, while an appropriation of public lands was also promised for the participants. Warfield was told to work as directly as possible toward Santa Fé, which, with such other towns as it was possible to conquer, was to be taken, and all Mexican property was to be confiscated.⁹ Upon his arrival at Santa Fé he was to await further instructions, and later developments indicate that the government had expected him to act immediately, for the purpose of attracting the attention of the New Mexicans while another Texan expedition was to cross the Rio Grande in the fall, and after occupying Santa Fé his command was to join this force.¹⁰

Warfield was well acquainted with the country in which he was to operate, having been for a number of years a resident of New Mexico, and having traveled over much of the southern Rocky Mountain region.¹¹ He at once began the work of raising his force, with the expectation of mustering between eight hundred and a thousand men. He apparently took it for granted that at least three hundred men would respond from Texas, and expected an equal number from the frontier of Arkansas. Consequently he went to Missouri, where he succeeded in enlisting a considerable number of frontiersmen. Then after naming May 15, 1843, as the date when the party was to assemble at the "Point of Rocks," within a short distance of the easternmost New Mexican settlements, he set out in the fall for the mountains, where he

⁹Hockley to Warfield, August 16, 1842, in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 14, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 117-118. Ser. No. 660.

¹⁰Jones to Van Zandt, June 8, 1843, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 189.

¹¹Arrangoiz to Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations, May 6, 1843, MSS. in Bolton Collection, University of California.

expected to secure the services of the trappers and fur hunters.¹² In all cases of recruiting Warfield contended that his proposed expedition was justifiable under the rules of legitimate warfare, and his statement of its purpose made the main design that of annoying the Mexican frontier, intercepting their trade, and forcing them, if possible, to some terms by which a peace might be secured between Texas and Mexico. As inducements he presented the promises of his government, and dramatically displayed a tattered, bullet-pierced flag which had seen service in the early battles of the Texas struggle for freedom.¹³

Warfield's Military Operations.—The contingent of trappers met Warfield near the junction of the Rio de las Animas with the Arkansas, in March, and it was found that many "had volunteered with great readiness, so far as promises were concerned; but when performances were required, 'came up missing.'"¹⁴ A little group of twenty-four men set out in two sections, however, on March 21, for the point where the volunteers "from the States" and the Texas force had been instructed to meet them in May. An interesting feature of this march shows something of the real purpose of the expedition. One afternoon a sentinel of one of the sections announced the approach of a small party of Mexicans, and immediately preparations were made to attack. It soon became evident that the expected enemy was hurriedly retreating, and a detachment of Texans set out in pursuit. After a chase of several miles, three members of the party were overtaken, but were found to be American and English traders on their way to the United States with a large quantity of gold and silver. They were at once released and allowed to proceed without being further molested.¹⁵ A few days later, three members

¹²Mitchell to Porter, April 21, 1843, in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 14, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 112-113. Ser. No. 660.

¹³Sage, *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains*, 244. Rufus B. Sage, the author, was one of Warfield's recruits among the western trappers, and has given some valuable, though meager information on the party's activities. For available reprints of the portion of this book dealing with the Texans, see Burton, "Texas Raiders in New Mexico in 1843," in *Old Santa Fe*, II, 309-322; 407-429.

¹⁴Sage, *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains*, 248.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 252. Sage adds, "A circumstance not likely to have happened had we been the gang of 'lawless desperadoes,' so hideously depicted in several of the public prints of the day."

of the little band were discharged for cowardice, Warfield advising them that "Texas wants no cowards to fight her battles."¹⁶

Early in May, while waiting for the expected reinforcements from Texas, this group surprised the military outpost of the town of Mora, killing five soldiers and capturing eighteen others, together with seventy-two head of horses. The prisoners were released, and owing to the presence of a large Mexican force in the vicinity, a retreat was begun.¹⁷ On the following day the horses were recaptured by the Mexicans, along with those belonging to the party, who then burned their saddles, and proceeded on foot to the neighborhood of Bent's Fort. After waiting here several days for information concerning the force which had been promised from Texas, Warfield abandoned hope, and on May 29 the force was disbanded.¹⁸

Opposition from the United States.—Warfield's activities had been brought into disfavor in the United States because of the capture and murder of Antonio Chavez, a New Mexican trader, by a party of Missourians under John McDaniel. Acting upon his authority to select and commission his own officers without first consulting the government, Warfield had issued such a commission to McDaniel,¹⁹ and his trust had been abused. While McDaniel's act was indirectly connected with the Texan aggressive movement, its nature did not entirely conform with the Texan view of legitimate retribution, and it was disavowed, while the principals in the raid were caught and punished by the United States authorities.²⁰

In addition to this, early in May a report from the United States Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the west, reached Washington. It contained a complaint concerning Warfield's recruiting activities in Missouri.²¹ The United States at once protested to Isaac Van Zandt, the Texan agent at Washington,²² who

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 261-262.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 265.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 266-267. For rumors which reached the United States concerning Warfield's activities, see *Niles' Register*, LXIV, 235, 290, 323.

¹⁹*Niles' Register*, LXIV, 386.

²⁰*Ibid.*, LXIV, 235.

²¹Mitchell, in Porter, April 21, 1843, in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 14, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 112-113. Ser. No. 660.

²²Legare to Van Zandt, May 10, 1843, in *Ibid.*, 112.

denied any knowledge of the Warfield party.²³ But two months later, after he had communicated with his government, Van Zandt was able to furnish to the American Secretary of State a copy of the instructions to Colonel Warfield, together with a protest that these instructions did not authorize him to enlist men or organize an expedition within the limits of the United States.²⁴

This correspondence had the effect of recalling to the Texan officials the fact that they had not heard from Warfield, for after the failure of the contemplated Rio Grande expedition to materialize he seems to have been forgotten. Since he had been told to act immediately, it had been supposed in Austin that his proposed expedition had been abandoned. So now, in order to meet the new international situation which had arisen, a letter was sent to Van Zandt, revoking Warfield's authority. This was to be forwarded to him whenever his whereabouts could be ascertained.²⁵ Long before this series of correspondence was culminated, Warfield himself had removed the cause by disbanding his force near Bent's Fort, and he, with a few of his followers, had set out for Texas.²⁶

The Purpose and Plans of the Snively Expedition.—In the meantime, the trade along the Santa Fé trail was being continued, and the Texans took the stand that such trade crossing their territory was subject to customs duty. They had no effective means of collecting such duties,²⁷ and, therefore, for the purpose of stopping the so-called illicit and contraband commerce, President Houston was induced to authorize Major Jacob Snively to raise a partisan force and go into the region. In the instructions which Snively received from the acting Secretary of War and Marine of Texas, however, the object which was em-

²³Van Zandt to Legare, June 1, 1843, in *Ibid.*, 113-114.

²⁴Van Zandt to Upshur, August 4, 1843, in *Ibid.*, 117.

²⁵Jones to Van Zandt, June 8, 1843, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 189.

²⁶Sage, *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains*, 267-268.

²⁷For an illustration of the difficulties of a Texas customs official, see Bourland to Secretary of Treasury (of Texas), May 4, 1843, in *Sen. Doc.* 1, 28 Cong., 2nd Sess., 93-95. Ser. No. 449. In March some traders from the United States had unloaded merchandise from a river steamer on Texas soil without making the necessary entries. The merchandise was confiscated by James Bourland, collector for the Red River district, and as a result, the Americans surprised and bound him, broke open the customs house, recovered their goods, and proceeded on their way.

phasized was that of retaliation and reclamation for injuries which had been sustained by Texans at the hands of Mexican soldiers. His force was to be raised and maintained without any expense to the government, and was to operate in any portion of Texas above the settlements, and between the Rio Grande and the boundary of the United States. Any merchandise or property belonging to Mexican citizens was to be considered as a lawful prize, and as in Warfield's instructions, half of the spoils was to go to the government, while the other half was to be divided among the members of the party.²⁸

This amounted to nothing more than a letter of reprisal, granting permission to operate at will within certain limits, and as such it was construed by the men who took part. Among the people of Texas, however, the general understanding was that the expedition was to descend on Santa Fé to capture "the tyrant Armijo, and the traitor Lewis," and, if favorably received by the New Mexicans, so great was the optimism that it was thought probable that it would make a descent upon Chihuahua, and ultimately revolutionize the whole of northern Mexico.²⁹

A party of about two hundred men was raised, and the command started from Georgetown, on April 25, 1843,³⁰ well armed and well supplied with provisions. The experience of the Santa Fé expedition in the matter of supplies evidently served as a warning, for the arrangements at this time were that for every two men there should be a pack mule, carrying about one hundred pounds of dried beef and a supply of flour.³¹ After about a month of marching in a northwesterly direction, the force turned south, believing itself to be west of the one hundredth meridian, and proceeded to the Arkansas River for the purpose of intercepting a caravan of Mexican traders which had left St. Louis in the spring.³² Here it was joined by Warfield, with the

²⁸Hamilton to Snively, February 16, 1843, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 217-218.

²⁹Niles' Register, LXIV, 210.

³⁰Snively to Hill, July 9, 1843, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 218.

³¹Niles' Register, LXIV, 290.

³²Snively to Hill, July 9, 1843, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 218; and also accounts given by members of the party, in Niles' Register, LXIV, 406.

remnant of his party which had decided to accompany him to Texas.

The Reaction to Warfield's Work.—By this time information concerning Warfield's activities had reached the United States, and the belief that the trade caravans were to be the prey of the Texans led General Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, to request that an armed escort be furnished for the Mexican merchants who were leaving Missouri for Santa Fé. As a result, a detachment of troops under Captain Philip St. George Cooke was ordered to accompany the caravan "as far as the territory of the United States extended on the route to Santa Fé."³³

At the new Mexico end of the trail, the persistent rumors which came in concerning a second Texan expedition against Santa Fé brought new activity from Governor Armijo. An appeal was sent to Mariano Monterde, the governor and commandant of Chihuahua, for assistance; and that official at once began the work of raising troops in the vicinity of El Paso for the purpose of aiding Armijo "in case the Texans dare to place a profaning foot upon Mexican territory."³⁴ Monterde delayed the action of these troops, however, until he could bring reinforcements from his capital,³⁵ and in addition a report was sent to the central government, stating that he had turned his own government over to his lieutenant in order to go to New Mexico to punish invaders from Texas.³⁶ Before he could arrive, however, Armijo had found it necessary to raise a detachment to meet the trade caravan at the Arkansas for the purpose of furnishing the protection needed for the last stage of the journey. To make up the necessary number, he was forced to impress into service the militia of Taos, a region which had remained antagonistic to him, and he used that division as his advance party.³⁷

³³Upshur to Van Zandt, January 16, 1844, in *Ibid.*, II, 244. In *Sen. Doc.* 1, 28th Cong., 2nd Sess., 101, this same letter is dated January 19, 1844, but this is evidently a typographical error, since Van Zandt's reply refers to the communication of the "16th ultimo." Van Zandt to Upshur, February 21, 1844, in *Ibid.*, 104.

³⁴Extract from Monterde to Armijo, April 15, 1843, in Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Administration," in *Old Santa Fe*, II, 154.

³⁵Ugarte to Acting General of the Department of New Mexico, June 29, 1843, in *Ibid.*, II, 154.

³⁶Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, 326.

³⁷Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 172-173.

Information concerning the plans of the Texans was also reaching the Mexican capital from representatives in the United States. Arrangoiz, the Mexican consul at New Orleans, was keeping himself informed upon the developments in Texas, and in the government archives of Mexico numerous letters are to be found in which he gives valuable information to his government. On May 6, 1843, he reported fully concerning Warfield's activities, and on May 19 he was able to send the news of the starting of the Snively expedition. To this warning there was added, during the following month, the voice of General Almonte from Washington.³⁸ The impression conveyed by these letters was that the expeditions were being fostered by the United States, and therefore considerable alarm was felt in Mexico. With information coming from so many sources, President Santa Anna felt that it was time to act. Therefore, on August 7, 1843, he issued a decree by which the frontier customs houses at Taos, in New Mexico, and Paso del Norte and Presidio del Norte, in Chihuahua, were entirely closed to all commerce.³⁹ This meant that trade to the north was to cease.

But in the meantime new complications had arisen. In the summer of 1843 the efforts of the British agent in Texas to bring about an adjustment of the difficulties between Texas and Mexico led to a temporary suspension of hostilities in order that the arrangements for a negotiation might be made.⁴⁰ This was on June 15, and a month later General Woll, commanding the Mexican army in the north, demanded of the Texas government either a declaration that the forces which composed the expedition against Santa Fé did not have the sanction of the government, in which case they could be treated as outlaws, or else, an assurance that

³⁸Transcripts of the letters of Arrangoiz and Almonte to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations are in the Bolton Collection, University of California.

³⁹*Niles' Register*, LXV, 166. The inference drawn by the newspapers of the time was that this decree was a result of a misunderstanding between Waddy Thompson and Bocanegra, the Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations. If such was the case, it was undoubtedly because of the Mexican supposition that the United States was responsible for the Texan operations. See Thompson to Bocanegra, August 14, 1843, in *Ibid.*, LXV, 167.

⁴⁰*Niles' Register*, LXIV, 307.

they had been notified to suspend hostilities.⁴¹ The Texas officials had been unable to communicate with Snively and Warfield to notify them of the agreement, and to obviate this difficulty, therefore, General Woll was given a copy of the revocation of Warfield's orders, and a copy of the proclamation declaring an armistice, with an order to Snively endorsed on it, giving Mexican officers the authority to show them the copies in case they should appear, and demanding that they return to the interior settlements of Texas.⁴² These orders were never delivered, and Snively conducted his principal operations during the period of the armistice. But the significant fact is that it was considered essential to make an effort to reach these two men.

Effect of the Reaction Upon Snively.—Snively's men and the advance party of Armijo's force reached the point where the trail crossed the Arkansas River at about the same time. A detachment of Texans led by Warfield immediately attacked the Taos militia, and in the skirmish all but two of the New Mexicans were either killed or captured. The prisoners were later released, and upon their return to Armijo with the news of the encounter he retreated hurriedly to Santa Fé.⁴³ The Texans then went into camp to await the arrival of the caravan. Within a few days it appeared, but before Snively fully realized what was happening, Captain Cooke had covered his camp, and demanded his surrender on the grounds that the party was in United States territory. Snively protested vigorously, but, owing to the superiority of the American force, the Texans had no alternative, and after practically disarming them Cooke allowed them to return to Texas.⁴⁴ Some of the Texans, disappointed at losing the opportunity of convincing Governor Armijo "that he was not a Napoleon," accused Snively of selling out to Cooke,⁴⁵ and there was a general disappointment in Texas because Santa Fé had not been taken. The principal result of this episode was the

⁴¹Woll to Houston, July 16, 1843, in Adams, *Correspondence in the British Archives Concerning Texas*, in *THE QUARTERLY*, XVII, 85-86.

⁴²Hill to Woll, July 29, 1843, in *Ibid.*, XVII, 87.

⁴³Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 169-170; also *Niles' Register*, LXIV, 354, and Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 86.

⁴⁴Snively to Hill, July 9, 1843, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 218-220.

⁴⁵*Niles Register*, LXIV, 406.

involving of Texas in a controversy with the United States concerning the location of the boundary; but no definite settlement was made, although Cooke was court-martialed and exonerated. The United States agreed, however, to pay the Texans for the firearms which had been confiscated, and with this the subject was dropped.⁴⁶ The interesting feature of this event lies in the fact that the trap which caught Snively was set by the authorities of the United States for the purpose of catching the Warfield party.

Conclusion.—This brought to an end all effort on the part of Texas to either occupy or control the New Mexico territory under the government of the republic, and so far the only tangible results seemed adverse to the Texan interests. Not only had all her attempts at occupation proved futile, but each effort had turned a new group of the New Mexican population from an attitude of indifference to one of hostility, and had added materially to the probability of a continued failure.

These campaigns also mark the final steps in the aggressive policy of the Texan republic from a military point of view. The commission to Snively was the last to be issued by the government for the purpose of carrying the war into Mexican territory, and with the exception of the work done by Colonel Hayes in the southern district in 1844 in preparation for a rumored Mexican invasion, which did not materialize, it constitutes the last stage of the military operations against Mexico. The reason is not difficult to find. In the first place, the republic was exhausted financially; but of greater importance is the fact that at about the same time that these operations were being brought to a disappointing end, political events in the United States were shaping themselves favorably toward annexation. This at once became the interest-absorbing question for the Texans, and aggression was forced to the background.

⁴⁶For the correspondence on the subject, see *Sen. Doc. 1*, 28th Cong., 2nd Sess., 96-112. Ser. No. 449.

MINUTES OF THE AYUNTAMIENTO OF SAN FELIPE
DE AUSTIN, 1828-1832

V

EDITED BY EUGENE C. BARKER

[p. 39] The following relief bill was approved and the President authorized to pay the same out of any moneys not otherwise appropriated.

To Francis W. Johnson, for services rendered by him; as clerk, in a criminal prosecution.....	\$ 62.50
To Thomas H. Borden, for his services as Surveyor to the Municipality, in laying off out lots.....	52.94
	<hr/>
Total amt.	\$115.44
	<hr/>

The President was authorized to pay the salary of the acting Secretary, at the expiration of the first quarter, according to the order of his appointment.

The Ayuntamto adjourned until 8 o'clock to morrow morning.

Thursday 5th Oct. 1830 at 8 o'clock A. M. the Ayuntamto met according to adjournment of yesterday Present the same as before.

The Sindico Procurador represented to this body, the murder committed this morning by one Thomas Jefferson Pryor on the person of one Peter Andrews of this town, and the escape of the murdered, the exertions of the civil and military authorities for his apprehension notwithstanding: Whereupon it was ordered, that the President be authorized and required, to offer a Reward of Two Hundred Dollars and all necessary expences paid, for the apprehension and delivery into the custody of the Alcalde of this Jurisdiction the aforesaid [p. 40] Pryor that he may be dealt with according to law, and that the public Justice may not remain violated with impunity.³⁴

The ordinance No. 6 relative to Horse raicing was presented discussed and approved.

³⁴This murder was the subject of a thoughtful editorial in the *Texas Gazette* of October 9, 1830, condemning the practice of carrying weapons.

No other business appearing at this time before this body, it adjourn'd to meet again in course of the law.

Jorge Fisher

Secy pro tem

[p. 41] In the town of Austin on the 27th day of Sept. 1830.³⁵ The President Thomas Barnett and the other individuals composing the Ayuntamiento of this Municipality having met in the Hall of their sessions an official letter of the Deputies Ignacio Sendejas Rafael Manchola, Jose María Aragon, and Jose Maria Balmaceda relative to the proceedings that took place on the 1st of this month in the Capital of the State, and asking this Body to manifest their opinion, whether the aforesaid Deputies have become undeserving of the public confidence as Deputies, was read. Also an official communication from the Hons. Ayunto. of the City of Leona Vicario [Saltillo] was read, on the same subject, accompanied with a copy of the proceedings of a meeting held in that city on the 1st inst. and a copy of the representation which in consequence of said meeting, the Ayunto. of said City has made to the H. Legislature of this state.³⁶

1. Having seen all these documents, and having discussed and meditated the subject with the calm and deliberation which it deserves, so much for its weighty importance, as for the high re-

³⁵Chronologically this minute should follow the proceedings of September 13 (above, page 194) but the order of the original is here preserved. Perhaps the incident described in the next entry, for the session of October 5, may explain the confusion in the original record.

³⁶On September 1, 1830, the ayuntamiento of Saltillo and several other persons declared the above deputies unworthy of confidence and petitioned the Legislature for their removal. At the same time they asked that Senator Carillo's election to the National Congress be set aside. The Legislature referred the petition to a committee, which on September 15 reported in favor of the expulsion of Balmaceda and Sendejas. The Legislature adopted the report and passed a decree of expulsion on the 18th. The Governor vetoed it as unconstitutional on the 27th and the Legislature passed it the next day over his veto.—*Texas Gazette*, October 30, 1830.

The ayuntamiento of Saltillo acted under a declaration of the Plan of Jalapa, which said that "those functionaries should be removed, against whom the general opinion had expressed itself." The ayuntamiento of San Felipe disapproved of the proceedings of the ayuntamiento of Saltillo and urged observance of the Constitution. The letter to the ayuntamiento of Saltillo, though signed by Barnett as President of the ayuntamiento of San Felipe, was written by Austin, who was called on to handle this political crisis.—See Austin Papers of September 27, 1830.

spectability of its origin, this Ayunto. has resolved: that to the Ayuntamto of Leona Vicario shall be answered in terms as expressed in the answer, of which a copy is annexed to this act.

2. Resolved, that this Ayuntamto has not the slightest hesitation to declare for itself and in the name of the people of this municipality that the Deputies of Texas Jose Maria Balmaceda and Rafael Manchola have not rendered themselves unworthy in the least particular of the confidence [p. 42]. for the station which they occupy as Deputies, neither have there any accounts reached this corporation relative to the conduct and deportment of the Deputies Ygnacio Sendejas, and Jose Maria Aragon, that they have become unworthy of the public confidence, for the office which they fill.

3. Resolved that this corporation will support in the full and ample enjoyment, and exercise of all the rights and authorities which the Constitution of the State confers and guarantees, to said deputies, especially those of Texas. And that the Congress be required to observe the constitution, and to punish those who should have infringed it.

4. Lastly it was resolved that copies of the present proceedings and of the official communication of the Hon: the Ayunto. of Leona Vicario with the answer to it by this corporation, be remitted to said Deputies, for the purpose of laying the same before His Ex: the Governor of the State, for the suitable purposes.

And having thus ordered the Ayunto. of this Municipality and without any other business of importance being before them, it adjourned, having the President, and the other members signed these proceedings.

Thos. Barnett

Prest.

Walter C. White

3d Regr

Jorge Fisher

Secy pr. tiempo

[p. 43] In the town of San Felipe de Austin on the 5th day of October 1830 at 5 o'clock P. M. The Ayuntamto in session this day without the presence of the secretary pro tem George Fisher, and present Thomas Barnett, prest. Jesse H. Cartwright 2d Regidor, Walter C. White 3d regidor and William Pettus sin-

dico procurador without the presence of the 1st and 4th regidors they being absent. It was unanimously agreed upon by the members that as their confidence in the person of George Fisher now serving the body as secretary pro tem is entirely destroyed, as well for the reason of his attempts to cause the Ayuntamiento. to use language in their official communications stronger and of a different nature than that the judgement of the body deemed proper. And by his actions and conduct appears strenuously anxious to trammil the body in difficulties to further his own individual views, as well also for the reason that the said Fisher has latterly declared to persons of undoubted veracity that during the latter part of last year while residing in Mexico he acted as a secret emissary and spy of Genl Guerrero the then prest. of the Republic, and consequently opposing as far as was in his power the work of reformation, and the restoration of the Constitution and Laws from the shackels which burthened them. And since he has been acting as secretary to this body has endeavored to take advantage of their total ignorance of the Spanish language and cause the body to declare by its official act that the members were partisans and entered into the views and feelings of political parties, without informing the members of the nature of them or their objects, thereby betraying them into an expression of opinion which they are ignorant of, and covertly keeping them from the truth. When they had always manifested to Sd Fisher, that as adopted citizens they owed obedience to the Constitution and Laws, and that as such adopted citizens and unacquainted with the Castillian Language they could not prudently enter into political questions which they could not understand having their origin at remote distances and being in a language different from their own, and one they [p. 44] are totally unacquainted with. Also this Ayto. has seen the copy of an official letter from said Fisher written to the Govt while he was acting as provisional collector of the port of Galveston stating that it was the practice to introduce african Negroes from the Havana thereby charging the inhabitants with carrying on an illicit trade with the enemies of the republic and with a direct and scandalous violation of the law relative to the introduction of African Slaves. And also stating to the Govt various other things which are absolutely false and which are calculated to in-

jure the character of the inhabitants of this colony and to deceive the Govt. Therefore the Ayuntamto deem it a duty they owe to themselves, to the good order and tranquility of the Municipality, and also in strict observance of their duty as adopted citizens of the Constitution and Laws, to declare that they discharge the said Fisher from the office of Secy pro tem of the body. And inasmuch as it is not the wish of the Ayunto. to injure any individual agree that a mild note shall be handed said Fisher signed by them all notifying him of his dismissal and requiring him to deliver up the records and papers in his possession which note shall be in the following words "Town of Austin October 5th 1830. Mr. George Fisher. Sir—This Ayuntamiento has concluded that you are not to act as secretary pro tem for the body any longer. Therefore you will deliver all the papers and records etc that may be in your possession belonging to this municipality to the Alcalde who is fully authorized to settle with you for your services.

Respectfully—Thos. Barnett. [p. 45] president—Jesse H. Cartwright 2d Regidor—Walter C. White 3d Regidor—William Pettus Sindico procurador.

Thos. Barnett

Samuel M. Williams

Secy pro tem

[p. 46] In the town of San Felipe de Austin á 16 de Octubre de 1830. The members of the Ayuntamto. consisting of Thos. Barnett prest. Walter C. White 3d regidor and William Pettus Sindico procurador having on this day been requested by the prest. to meet as no more of the members are present and do not live in town. The prest. stated that matters relating to the Conduct of George Fisher the former Secy protem of the ayunto. had caused him to request the members to convene, the prest. then stated that the original drafts of the answer to the official letter of the Ayunto. of Leona Vicario from this Ayuntamto. under date of 27th Septemr last past, as likewise the original draft of the official letter to four of the deputies in the State Legislature and the draft of the Act of the Ayunto. of the same date; and which originals had been placed in the hands of said Fisher for the purpose of transcribing them in the book of acts and book of Correspondence and which notwithstanding the order given to the said Fisher in the

official note of the ayunto. to deliver the records and papers were concealed and retained by said Fisher, as he had every reason to believe as they could not be found among the papers returned to the office by Fisher, and from the fact of having asked him for them, and that the said Fisher had told him that he had burned them. The prest. exhibited to the members present the sworn declaration of Mr. Samuel M. Williams in which he states that he placed the papers referred to into the hands of said Fisher at the request of the alcalde while Fisher was secretary protom of this Ayunto. and the members present fully concurring in the prest. in the opinion and belief from the character [p. 47] and conduct of said Fisher, that he yet retained the papers concealed, they with one accord agreed they would in a body wait upon Mr. Fisher and ask him for said papers, and further that they would invite 3 or 4 good and respectable citizens, with the Sheriff and the present acting Secretary of the body to accompany them. On arriving at the room of said Fisher the Sindico procurador stated to him in presence of all that the members present had waited upon him at his room to ask and formally demand the before cited papers, to which demand the said Fisher instigated by the basest passions of the human heart replied, twice or thrice in the presence of the members and Luke Lessassier, William J. Russell, John Austin and the sheriff and Secy "I told you already I have burned them they no longer exist" the prest. then ordered the Sheriff to search Mr. Fisher's place, which order on being made known to Fisher, caused him to unlock a trunk and take from it two large bundles enveloped in clothing and tied up with great snugness and security and after having unbound one of the bundles he drew from it a small package folded and sealed up and after breaking it open took out and presented to the Secy of this body the identical papers which he had so repeatedly and shamefully declared he had burned. The turpitude and falsehood exposed induced the members of the Ayunto. then to order a general examination of his papers when among them there was found the herein after described papers, which he had without any authority from the Alcalde or Ayunto., or without having made a request to be furnished them, or permitted to draw Copies from the originals existing in the Archives, and abusing the trust and Confidence of

the ayto. and violating the duties of an honest man, had secretly and covertly taken—

LIST of documents found [p. 48] in possession of George Fisher former Secy protom of this Ayto. which said Fisher had secretly taken from the Archives without the knowledge or consent of the Ayunto. for the purpose of carrying them off.

- 1 The decree of the Legislature of this state No 128 circulated by the Chief of Department.
- 2d The circular of the minister of relations under date of 7th may, 1830 relative to the Collection of Minerals and natural curiosities.
- 3d The Decree relative to the introduction of goods from Yucatan
- 4th The Notice of the Empreso S. F. Austin published 20th nov 1829 and filed same day with the Alcalde.
- 5th The law relative to matriculation of 20th novr. 1829
- 6th The act of the Ayunto. of Saltillo dated 31 decemr. 1829
- 7th The Official letter of His Excellency the Gov. dated 1st March, 1828 and circulated by the Chief of Depart. 6th April same year.
- 8th The law regulating passports 1 May 1828.
- 9th The report of the minister of State 12 Febr 1830.

NOTES AND FRAGMENTS

The Places of Burial of Three Prominent Texans.—In a letter of November 23, 1918, Hon. R. L. Henry, of Waco, submitted to Dr. R. E. Vinson, President of the University of Texas, some interesting data concerning the life and burial place of Richard Ellis and Governor Runnels. He says:

Richard Ellis

"For several years I sought to find the burial place of Richard Ellis, president of the Texas Constitutional Convention at old Washington in 1836, where our Declaration of Texas Independence was promulgated and our first Constitution was formed. I had been informed that he was buried either at old Rondeaux, Arkansas, near Texarkana, or at Clarksville, or old Boston, Texas. I made diligent search in the cemeteries in each of these places but failed to find his burial place, but did locate it near New Boston, Texas.

"On March 31, 1916, I visited his grave and wrote down the following memorandum:

"Today I stood at the grave of Richard Ellis. He rests on an elevation about five miles north of New Boston, Texas, in the family burying ground on the old Ellis estate, established by him. Five miles further northward the Red River, with majestic sweep, courses to the Mississippi and on to the sea. At his tomb huge red oaks and white oaks and giant hickories with ample branches stand guard over his mortal remains. At his head rises a wild plum tree with its early leaves quivering in the breezes of spring-time and its fragrant blossoms exhale their perfume in this quiet and historic forest."

"On the yet strong marble headstone, toppled to earth, beneath the image of the Lone Star is the simple inscription:

In Memory of Richard Ellis.

Born February 14, 1781.

Died December 20, 1846.

He was President of the Convention that formed the Constitution of the Republic of Texas.

"This remarkable man was born in Virginia in 1781 and was there liberally educated. In 1813 he removed to Franklin County,

Alabama, and there began the practice of law. As a delegate to the first constitutional convention of that State he aided in framing the Constitution of 1819. In 1820 he was elected judge of the Fourth Alabama Circuit, and remained in that office until 1823, when he came to the Red River section (now Bowie County) of Texas, and engaged in cotton planting on a large scale. It was amid the ruins of this old cotton plantation that I visited his grave.

"Richard Ellis presided over the convention at old Washington, near Hidalgo Falls on the Brazos River, and on the second day of March, 1836, the immortal Declaration of Texas Independence was proclaimed to the world. This convention was composed of many great men. The constitution of the Republic of Texas was promulgated on March 17, 1836. It bristles with individualism and is a model of patriotic conception.

"After Texas achieved her independence at San Jacinto, Richard Ellis, in the first Congress under the constitution, was president pro tem. of the senate until Mirabeau B. Lamar was inaugurated as vice president. He ranked with such other men as Sam Houston, J. Pinckney Henderson, Thomas J. Rusk, Patrick and William H. Jack, Stephen F. Austin, David G. Burnet, George C. Childress, R. M. Williamson and many more of that type. For seventy years his last resting place has been in Bowie County. It is unknown to our people and is not chronicled in any history within my knowledge.

"Let Texas take appropriate action to honor his memory and permanently mark his sepulcher as president of that fateful and historic convention proclaiming Texas' independence. A patriotic spirit should be aroused to accord proper recognition to this illustrious man who headed and adorned that assembly at the birth of a great republic, and bring to the notice of the world the hallowed spot honored by his last sleep."

Hardin R. Runnels

"Ten miles across the country to the southeast of Richard Ellis' tomb, on a hill in the Runnels homestead, overlooking the thriving town of New Boston below, is buried Hardin R. Runnels. He was the first candidate to receive the nomination for governor from a Democratic state convention in Texas, and also bears the proud distinction of defeating Sam Houston. On his

tomb are inscribed these words What greater tribute can be paid a man?

Sacred

To the memory of
Governor Hardin R. Runnels
Born August 30, 1820
Died December 25, 1873

A native of Mississippi, he removed to Texas in 1842

By his public spirit and stern integrity

He won the confidence of the people

Who elected him to the highest positions

Legislative and Executive

That they had to bestow

Filling all these with honor to himself

And benefit to the Commonwealth

No finger can point to a shadow of corruption

Upon his extended public record"

Mr. Ben C. Stuart contributed the following information concerning the death and burial place of George C. Childress to the *Galveston News* of August 11, 1918:

George C. Childress

Here is a strange, true tale of the unknown grave of one of the most brilliant men of the Texas revolution, George C. Childress, generally credited with the authorship of the Declaration of Independence. His full name was George Campbell Childress, and he was born at Nashville, Tennessee, January 4, 1804. He was a lawyer by profession, and came to Texas in 1832, locating at the settlement of Nashville, on the Brazos River, in Robertson's colony. He was a member of the convention declaring the independence of Texas, March 2, 1836, and was chairman of the committee drafting that document. He was afterward dispatched as commissioner to Washington to present the claims of Texas to Andrew Jackson, then president of the United States, for recognition. . . . He returned to Texas and resumed the practice of his profession. In 1840 he was a resident of Galveston, and was an inmate of the boarding house kept by Mrs. Crittenden, an estimable lady from Kentucky. "Early one morning," says Thrall, "he presented himself at her door, before the lady was

up, and begged her in piteous terms to save him from himself. Just as she opened the door he plunged the fatal dagger into his own heart, the blood bespattering her dress. A letter in his room stated that pecuniary losses by his brother, in gaming, had prompted the fatal deed." None of the writers of Texas history seems to have been aware of the spot where he was interred. The late Hamilton Stuart, a citizen of Galveston from 1838 to his demise in 1894, and who was well acquainted with both Mrs. Crittenden and Mr. Childress, made the following notation (now before the writer) in reference to the death of Mr. Childress: "His body lies in Galveston within a few feet west of the Rosenberg school building." If the grave was ever marked (which is doubtful) the last vestige of it disappeared sixty years ago. . . . The name of George C. Childress is commemorated in that of one of the counties of the State, but the exact spot of his "humblest of all sepulchers" is forgotten and unknown.

On Enduring and Instructive Monuments.—Apropos the sketches of Richard Ellis and Governor Runnels above, Mr. Henry suggests that proper honor be shown the memory of those distinguished men, and mildly imputes negligence to past writers of our history. He urges that a patriotic spirit should be aroused which would make impossible such neglect. The criticisms, of course, have a much wider application than the particular cases cited. It is desirable that every distinguished Texan be awarded the honor and credit due him, and that every important event in the history of our State be correctly recorded.

At the present time the people of this State are deeply interested in showing proper respect and giving credit where it belongs to those who participated in the war just closed. It is interesting to note the various plans and suggestions brought forward in this connection. As decisions upon these will be made by many communities within a short time, it is in order to inquire what would be an adequate and enduring memorial to the men and women who entered the service.

The most obvious and patent method of commemorating the dead is a monument of marble, granite or bronze. The monument has been employed since the days of Pharaoh. But marble or granite or bronze is exceedingly difficult to use in the writing of history. They are inadequate to convey the message that we wish to con-

vey to those who come after us. A record of names and dates, if not too numerous, accompanied by some brief statement, exhausts the possibilities of the conventional monumental inscription. Monuments suffer the further handicap of being stationary, consequently few people ever see them and fewer still read their inscriptions. Our knowledge of monuments is ninety-nine per cent obtained from the printed page. Moreover, we are now happily confronted by a situation where the great majority of those whom we wish to commemorate are not dead.

The printed book is much better suited to perpetuate the memory of those who helped to win the World War; it can be issued in large numbers, can be scattered throughout the land at small cost, and will still be legible centuries hence when the inscriptions on granite and marble have been entirely worn away. The facilities for printing are abundant in most localities, which is not the case in regard to facilities for constructing monuments. Every person in each community who contributed to the winning of the war can contribute his bit of data for this record. The task of collecting the information and organizing it so as to form an accurate, clear and readable account will not be an easy one; it will require time, patience, industry, besides much careful planning. But it need not be done all at once. And when the data have been carefully collected, systematically arranged, and placed in a secure depository where fire, rats, damp and thieves cannot injure or steal, they will be available for the students of the next three or four generations.

The matter of gathering very complete data cannot be too greatly emphasized to the people of Texas. It is something that has been greatly neglected in the past, and is still being neglected. If proof of this statement is required I point to the condition of the public records—State and county—not absolutely essential for current business, to the small fraction of the public records of the State that has been printed, to the deplorable absence of local historical societies from every part of the State, and to the serious financial limitations placed upon the only State historical society within our limits. If Texas had done as many of the other States are doing, Mr. Henry would have experienced no difficulty in finding an entire volume of official correspondence by Governor Runnels, or by any other of the early governors of

Texas. Their correspondence reposes in the archives of the State, but to a busy man manuscript archives bound with a lot of red tape are not very handy. How different it is in these respects in many of the other States, that in size, wealth and population by no means equal our State, is shown by the number of volumes published by those States and the long lists of publications devoted to local and State history put forth by their historical and patriotic societies. They display thrift in the utilization (one is almost tempted to say exploitation) of their materials for local and State history from which Texans could get invaluable suggestions.

The materials for the study of the Civil War are notoriously much more complete in the Northern States than in the Southern States. What the result has been upon the histories of that war is also well known to those who have had the patience to read them. The Southern States emerged from that contest at a great disadvantage as regards obtaining the historical data to illustrate their side. If the Northern States make a better showing of the part they played in the winning of the present war, it will be because they have given greater and more systematic attention to the records of their participation and to their greater promptness in appropriating sufficient funds for employing the necessary agencies required to collect, arrange, publish and preserve those records. "History is a matter of record, made up of facts, not opinions and theories alone. If the historian cannot find the record, his account must be mythical; if he finds only a part, his account is likely to be distorted, be his intentions ever so honest." Or to quote the words of a French scholar: "History is studied from documents. Documents are the traces which have been left by the thoughts and actions of men in former times. There is no substitute for documents: no documents, no history."

E. W. W.

NEWS ITEMS

The History of Texas in the World War.—By the advice and request of the School of History of the University of Texas the President and Regents of that institution made provision in October, 1918, for the collection and preservation of the records of the State's activities in the Great War. Professor Milton R. Gutsch, who had already built up a very comprehensive and valuable collection of war posters for the University Library, was relieved temporarily of teaching duties and appointed to direct the work. To carry out the undertaking successfully Mr. Gutsch will need the assistance of local county and community committees throughout the State. One needs only to remember the complaints almost constantly heard in the South that historians have never done justice to the South's part in the making of the nation to understand the supreme importance of making this collection as complete as possible. History can only be written from the authentic records of the past; and the State which neglects to preserve its historical materials has no right to complain of the partiality of the historian who fails to give it full credit for its efforts and sacrifices. Indeed, no more lasting and fitting monument to the patriotism of a community can be established than to preserve fully and authentically the record of its work in the war. It is the hope of the history teaching staff of the University that the service record of every man who enlisted in the State for any branch of the army and navy, as well as the data for the history of the State's industrial, agricultural, financial, and social organization for the war can be obtained and permanently preserved in the University Library.

To assist local committees and give them an idea of the comprehensive nature of the material desired, Professor Gutsch has prepared the following suggestions:

1. *Military Material:* (a) Have questionnaires printed exactly like the sample which will be furnished by the Director, one for every man in the military or naval service of the United States government.¹ (b) Fill out the questionnaires. If pos-

¹The questionnaire indicates the scope of the biographical information desired: NAME (in full). PHOTO: yes—no. Race (white, Indian or

sible use the draft questionnaires for information relating to the biography of the individual before his induction into the service. Fill out the unanswered questions from the information collected directly from the man in service, if possible. If impossible, get the necessary information from his relatives. Be sure in each case that the answers made are trustworthy impressing upon the person interviewed the importance of accuracy and honesty. Check up these answers, if possible. (c) Secure all letters and diaries of the inducted pertaining to the war. In case originals cannot be obtained, endeavor to secure accurate copies. When possible get the name of the place at which the letter was written and attach the name, written on a separate piece of paper, by a paper clip to the letter. (d) Secure a photograph of the inducted and write upon the back his name in full with the approximate date of taking. Procure also such other photographs and group pictures showing military units as you can, always noting on the back of each the date of taking and in case of group pictures the necessary explanatory information.

(NOTE.—The Adjutant General's office does not have on file a complete list of all men who have entered the service from Texas. Unless these records are compiled by local committees,

negro). RESIDENCE. BIRTH: Date, Month, Year, Place, County, State, Country. OCCUPATION (at time of induction), Where employed, Average wage or salary per month, Previous occupations with name and residence of employer and approximate dates of employment. DOMESTIC RELATIONS: Married or single, Date of marriage, Place, Maiden name of wife, Birth place of wife, Widower, Date, Cause (death or divorce), Children (names and dates of birth). PARENTAGE: Maiden name of mother, Place of birth, County, State, Country, Approximate date, Date and place of death, Name of father, Place of birth, County, State, Country, Approximate date, Date and place of death, Name and address of nearest kin. CHURCH AFFILIATION. EDUCATION: Highest grade reached in primary education, School, Highest grade reached in secondary education, School, College education, when and where, Degrees held, when and where received. POLITICAL AFFILIATION: At time of induction, At time of discharge. MILITARY INDUCTION: Were you a member of a military organization April 6, 1917? What organization? How long had you been a member? Did you enter the service after the declaration of war by draft or voluntary enlistment? When? Where? Which branch (infantry, artillery, cavalry, signal corps, etc.) Transfers to other branches: When? TRAINING: What military training had you had before April 6, 1917? Where were you trained after induction? Approximate dates. MILITARY UNITS: To what unit were you assigned? Company or other unit, Regiment, Transfers to other units with approximate dates. RANK: What was your rank when first in service? Promotion with dates? Military honors with dates and cause? By whom conferred? SERVICE IN UNITED STATES: Kind, Where and when per-

many of the names may never be recovered. The draft questionnaires contain only a very small part of the information desired by the Record Questionnaire.)

2. *The Records of Community War Service Committees.*—All records, correspondence and official reports issued by the county council of defense and its subdivisions, the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Relief, the Association of Commerce, the several Liberty loan committees, the war savings stamps committee, the War Speakers' Bureau, War Community Service, Library Association, Salvation Army, the food administration, and the fuel administration, so far as they pertain to your county's activity in the war.

3. *The proclamations and reports of all county, city or village governments* or officers (executive and administrative, legislative, and judicial) so far as they pertain to your county's activity in the war. (If hand bills or printed proclamations were used, secure a copy of each, if possible.)

4. *The reports of all public meetings* held in the county for war purposes, such as club meetings, meetings of labor unions, social and professional organizations and patriotic societies. Secure copies of resolutions passed at such meetings, and, if possible, reports of discussion and action taken.

5. *Economic and Industrial Material:* (a) Secure the name of every manufacturing plant engaged in war work in your county, with the names of the officers and employes during the period

formed. EN ROUTE FOR WAR FRONTS: Date of departure, Name of transport, Seaport, Attacks made on transport en route; Dates of, Nature of Attacks, Result, Date and place of arrival in Europe or Asia, Training on foreign soil; date and place, Assignment to "Back of the Lines" Duty: Nature of duties, when and where. ON THE WAR FRONT: When were you first assigned to front line duty? Where, What were your particular duties (cook, bugler, etc.)? Battles engaged in, date and place, Wounded: How, Date, Place, Nature of wound, How severe, Confinement in Hospital: Where, When, Date of discharge, Date and place of return to active service. ILLNESS: Nature of, When, Hospital confinement, Where, When, Date of Discharge, Date and place of return to active service. FINAL DISCHARGE: Date, Place, Honorable or dishonorable, Cause of discharge. DEATH: Date, Place, Cause, Burial, place and date. CAPTIVITY: When captured, Where, Prisons in which confined, with dates, Escape, Date of, How made, Release, Date of, Cause of. RECONSTRUCTION DUTY: Where were you stationed at the time of the armistice? What enemy cities or fortresses were occupied by your unit after the armistice with dates of occupation? RETURN TO AMERICA: Date of departure, Seaport, Transport, Arrival in America: Date, Place, When and where mustered out, Rank when mustered out.

of the war. (b) If possible, secure a photograph of the plant and photographs and descriptions of the materials made for the government. (c) Secure copies of the contracts with the United States government. (d) Secure data upon the amount of the manufactured goods shipped to the government each month since the beginning of the contract and place or places to which the goods were sent with amount in each case. (e) Get a statement as to the total cost to the government of the material manufactured. (f) If possible, secure copies of the correspondence between the government and the factory pertaining to this war work.²

6. *Newspapers and Periodicals*: A separate file of all newspapers, war pamphlets and periodicals (both white and negro) published in the county between July 1, 1914, and the conclusion of the war should be collected. Don't forget the publications of the war camps. An index of your county's activity in the war will be made at the University.

7. *Civilian War Work and Relief Work*: Such as the records of the local Red Cross organization, nursing, sewing, knitting, sending supplies to soldiers, etc. Get in touch with the women's clubs and the patriotic organizations in your county.

8. *Records of War Camp Community Service*.

9. *Children's Work*: Secure the name of every boy and girl who raised a war garden, engaged in farm work, sold thrift stamps and Liberty bonds. Compile a record of the amount of work performed and results achieved by each.

10. *Educational*: (a) Secure copies of resolutions, reports, recommendations, and records of the city, precinct, village or county school boards, teachers' meetings, local faculty meetings, and petitions to these bodies, regarding changes of policy, course, text, teaching staff, etc., because of the war. Also reports of action taken and cause in each case. (b) Secure similar data from the local principals and county and local superintendents. (c) Get records of each school as to Liberty loan, Red Cross, war savings stamps, etc., campaigns.

11. *Mercantile*: (a) Secure the name of every mercantile establishment providing the United States government with sup-

²Professor Gutsch has prepared questionnaires covering industrial, agricultural, and mercantile services.

plies, with names of officers and employes during the period of the war. (b) Secure copies of contracts with the United States government. (c) Secure data upon the amount of commodities supplied each month since the beginning of the contract and place and places to which goods were sent in each case. (d) Get data as to cost of these materials to the government. (e) Secure copies, if possible, of the correspondence between the government and the mercantile establishment pertaining to these supplies.

12. *Agricultural*: (a) Secure name of every person engaged in agriculture in your county, size of farm or ranch, acreage devoted in each of the following years: 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, to (1) cotton, (2) corn, (3) wheat, (4) rice, (5) cane, (6) oats, (7) fodder, (8) castor beans and other special products; acreage devoted to cattle, sheep, horses, mules, etc., with number of cattle, etc., in each case. (b) Secure data as to amount of each kind of agricultural produce raised for the years enumerated above. Also value. (c) Secure copies of contracts with the United States government for the supply of these commodities. (d) Secure data upon the amount of commodities supplied the government in accordance with these contracts each month and place or places to which they were sent in each case. (e) Get data as to the cost of these commodities in total to the United States government. (f) Secure copies, if possible, of the correspondence between the government and the person engaged in agriculture pertaining to these supplies.

The University of Texas has published *A Source Book Relating to the History of the University of Texas: Legislative, Legal, Bibliographical, and Statistical*, compiled by Dean H. Y. Benedict. It will be reviewed in the next issue of THE QUARTERLY.

"Dueling and duelists of old Texas times" is the title of a long and interesting paper published by Mr. Ben C. Stuart in the *Galveston News* of November 24, 1918.

The death of Senator Augustus R. McCollum, of Waco, occurred at Austin, November 9, 1918. Judge Ben H. Rice, of the Court of Civil Appeals of the Third Judicial District, died in Austin, November 16, 1918. Judge J. E. Yantis, late associate justice of the Supreme Court of Texas, died at Waco, December

1, 1918. Peter Radford, formerly president of the Farmers' Union, died while in Madison, Wisconsin, December 1, 1918. Fitzhugh F. Hill, prominent in political circles, died at Denton, December 10, 1918.

Mrs. Bettie Bryan died at her home in Houston, November 20, 1918. Mrs. Bryan was successful in business and a woman pioneer in dealing in real estate.

Mrs. Julia de Zavala died at her home in San Antonio, December 13, 1918. Mrs. De Zavala was the widow of Augustine, son of Lorenzo de Zavala, first vice-president of the Republic of Texas.

In the *Musical Courier* of January 3, 1918, there is an article by Professor Samuel E. Asbury, of A. and M. College, Texas, on "Naive Music," in which he presents a sketch of an opera on the theme of the Texas Revolution, with General Houston as the central character.

The *Dallas News* of December 18, 1918, publishes a letter written by the late M. Lasker of Galveston, January 1, 1909, reviewing the development of the Sanger Brothers stores. It is an interesting and valuable contribution to the history of commerce in Texas from 1858 to the present.

AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Texas State Historical Association will be held at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas, March 3, at 10 o'clock, in Room 158. A meeting of the Executive Council will precede.

The reduction in the size of THE QUARTERLY is due to the increased cost of printing—about 33½ per cent.

THE QUARTERLY OF THE TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The management wishes to announce that the back volumes of THE QUARTERLY can be purchased and that a complete set is now available. The first four volumes have been reprinted, and will be sold at the following prices, on the installment plan, or for cash on delivery:

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The Association was organized March 2, 1897. The annual dues are two dollars. THE QUARTERLY is sent free to all members.

Contributions to THE QUARTERLY and correspondence relative to historical material should be addressed to Eugene C. Barker, Austin, Texas, or to Herbert E. Bolton, Berkeley, California.

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MEXICAN PROJECTS OF THE CONFEDERATES¹

J. FRED RIPPY

Throughout the Civil War there was manifested a desire on the part of the Confederate government to form a close alliance with its neighbor on the South. Overtures were made not only to the Constitutionals under Juárez and to Maximilian, but also to the prominent Mexican leaders of the northern frontier. The ultimate absorption of a portion of Mexican territory may have been contemplated. At any rate, the agent of the Juárez government at Washington, anticipating this eventually, expressed a desire to negotiate with the United States a treaty guaranteeing the Mexican Republic. It is probable, however, that the more immediate interest of the South resulted from the fact that Mexico not only served as a medium through which passed the Confederate European trade, but also furnished a good market for the sale of cotton and the purchase of arms, munitions, and other supplies. Later, as the Southern cause became more and more hopeless, a new aspect was introduced by discontented Confederates turning toward Mexico in search of employment and new homes. The present article aspires only to give a brief general sketch of these Mexican relations in the hope that the field thus opened may in the future prove interesting and profitable.

¹The writer wishes to acknowledge valuable suggestions made by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton in the preparation of this paper.

I. Relations with the Juárez Government

The Mission of Pickett.—In a dispatch dated May 17, 1861, Robert Toombs, the Confederate Secretary of State, instructed J. T. Pickett to proceed to Mexico in order to sound the members of the Juárez administration on the subject of an alliance for the purpose of resisting the enemies of both governments. Although he was not at that time to demand recognition, he was to assure them, in case he found them favorably disposed, of the readiness of his government to conclude a "treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with that Republic on terms equally advantageous to both countries." Pickett was instructed, further, to feel the pulse of the merchants and ship owners on the subject of privateering and to grant letters of marque and reprisal to those desiring to obtain such; to remind Mexico of the long standing friendship of the Southern statesmen and diplomatists; and to express his confident anticipation that the Mexican authorities would grant to armed vessels sailing under the flag of the Confederate government the right to enter the ports of Mexico with such prizes as they were able to capture on the high seas.²

Pickett's conduct in Mexico was of a piece with that of the Southern leaders who had preceded him.³ Somewhat lacking both in tact and dignity, he was vigorous and pugnacious. Upon landing at Vera Cruz, he took steps to open negotiations with the governor of that State, suggesting that it might desire again to assert its independence. On July 28, he wrote from Mexico City that he had established friendly and confidential relations with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The greater part of his plan would have been accomplished, he thought, had it not been for the increasing disturbance in the internal affairs of the country.⁴ Pickett probably had not yet learned of the decree of the Mexican Congress granting the request of the North for the privilege of passing troops across Mexico to attack the Confederates in Arizona.⁵

²J. D. Richardson, *Messages and papers of the Confederacy* (Nashville, 1905), II, 20-26.

³Butler, Letcher, and Forsyth, for instance.

⁴J. M. Callahan, *The diplomatic history of the Southern Confederacy*, 72; J. D. Richardson, *Messages and papers of the Confederacy*, II, 49.

⁵*House Executive Doc. 1, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 538-542.*

When he received this news he said privately that if Mexico did not annul this decree, she would lose Tamaulipas in sixty days, while he officially informed the government that its action would probably lead the Confederate forces to invade the North Mexican States. On October 29, he informed Toombs that a treaty was pending between Juárez and the United States which "probably had for its basis the hypothecation of Mexican lands and the establishment of a line of United States military posts through Mexican territory," and asked whether it would not be wise under the circumstances to occupy Monterey with the purpose of permanently holding the adjacent region. He rejoiced, moreover, in the opportunity which the affair afforded for the Confederate States speedily to fulfill "a portion of that inevitable destiny which impels them southward."⁶ The remainder of Pickett's stay was characterized by expressions of a similar nature, his pugnacity getting him into the guard house upon one occasion. In the interval between threats, he proposed the recession of California and New Mexico in return for a treaty of free trade between the Confederacy and Mexico. Near the close of the year he was requested by his government to return to Richmond.⁷

Pickett's mission, therefore, revealed the fact that the Confederacy could expect little encouragement from the Juárez government. It tended to show, moreover, that the South still clung in a measure to the idea of expansion,—a fact which the North never tired of using against her. Had the Juárez administration been well disposed towards the Confederates, it could not have rendered any very great service; for it was throughout the period rather a flying squadron than a governing body.⁸ So far as has been ascertained, however, the members of that administration evinced little friendliness toward the Confederacy, but showed rather a disposition to play into the hands of the United States, which offered numerous inducements to secure their friendship.⁹ Hamilton P. Bee, a citizen of Texas and well informed on the Mexican situation, declared in November, 1863, that owing to the influence

⁶Callahan, *op. cit.*, 73.

⁷*Ibid.*, 75.

⁸Bancroft, *Mexico*, VI, 54-234.

⁹The subject of the relations of the United States and Juárez will furnish ample material for another paper.

of Thomas Corwin, the United States Minister, the tone of the Juárez government had been hostile to the Southern cause, and various annoying and injurious measures had been initiated. They had "decreed martial law on their frontiers, forbid the export or import of any article whatsoever from Texas, and closed their custom-houses."¹⁰

Southern Desire for Expansion.—How far the North was justified in its contention that expansion was the accepted policy of the Confederacy it is difficult to say. The Democratic party, which since the days of Polk had been *the* expansionist party, numbered before the realignment which immediately preceded the outbreak of the Civil War a large southern following. In 1861, after secession had been completed, M. Romero, the Mexican Minister at Washington, expressed alarm at the declarations of certain Southern statesmen and publications regarding the future absorption of Mexico.¹¹ In January, 1862, James Reily, a Confederate army official of some prominence, wrote no less a dignitary than John H. Reagan that his cause had warm and influential friends in Chihuahua and that this "rich and glorious neighbor" would "improve by being under the Confederate flag." He then added,

We must have Sonora and Chihuahua. . . . With Sonora and Chihuahua we gain Southern [Lower] California, and by a railroad to Guaymas render our State of Texas the great highway of nations. You are at liberty to lay this note, if you see fit, before President Davis.¹²

The North seemed to consider these designs on the part of the rebels a very real danger. On August 28, 1861, Corwin wrote Seward about Pickett's boast concerning the designs of the Confederate States upon Northern Mexico. He said it was no doubt their purpose to seize Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora—"indeed . . . the entire Tierra Caliente of Mexico. . . ." In view of this possibility Corwin advised that a force raised in California and Oregon be sent from Guaymas through Sonora to attack the rebels in New Mexico and Ari-

¹⁰*Official Records*, I, XV, 881-882.

¹¹*House Executive Doc.* 1, Part III, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 535-537.

¹²*Official Records*, I, L. i, 825-826.

zona.¹³ Brigadier-General George Wright of California was alarmed by reports of a similar nature, and in October, 1861, asked permission from Assistant Adjutant-General, Townsend, to occupy Sonora. He declared that such a step was dictated by military necessity and that it would not only meet with the approval of Governor Pesqueira, but would be "hailed with joy" by the "entire population."¹⁴

By the latter part of September, 1862, the Federal expedition from Southern California, which had begun operations in April, reached the Rio Grande.¹⁵ Advancing from the opposite side, United States forces took Brownsville in November of the following year.¹⁶ These movements, coupled with the defeat of Vicksburg and other losses, greatly weakened the Confederacy and diminished their chances of success in whatever Mexican conquests they may have entertained. But the North continued, nevertheless, to have considerable anxiety regarding complications which might arise on the southern frontier. Two interesting schemes illustrate this anxiety, and at the same time probably show that the North overestimated the force of the filibustering spirit in the South.

The Blair Project.—On December 28, 1864, Francis P. Blair of Maryland received from President Lincoln a pass through the lines of the Union army to go South and return. On January 12, he arrived at Richmond where he had a conference with Jefferson Davis. Lincoln had permitted him to go in order to learn the attitude of the Confederacy towards proposals of peace, but his mission was said to be unofficial. His main proposition was the cessation of hostilities and the union of military forces for the purpose of maintaining the Monroe Doctrine. Blair urged that slavery, so productive of woe, was "admitted on all sides to be doomed" and that, since Napoleon clearly intended to conquer this continent, any further hostilities toward the Union became a war in support of monarchy for which the French ruler stood. The present suicidal war was most pleasing to the Emperor and, if continued, would enable him to realize his designs. Davis was

¹³*Ibid.*, loc. cit., 626-627.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 690-691.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 88-145.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, I, XXVI, i, 397-399.

the only person whose "fiat could deliver his country from the bloody agony now covering it in mourning." What if an armistice could be entered into—an armistice the secret preliminaries of which might enable Davis to "transfer such portions of his army as he deemed proper to the banks of the Rio Grande?" Here they could form a junction with the Liberalists under Juárez, who no doubt would devolve all the power he could on Davis, a dictatorship if necessary. If they were needed, Northern forces could join the enterprise and Davis, having driven out the Bonaparte-Hapsburg dynasty and allied his name with those of "Washington and Jackson as defender of the liberty of the country," could mould the Mexican States so that subsequently they could be admitted into the Union.

Thus the peace proposals of Blair amounted to a joint filibustering undertaking by which the United States' possessions were to be extended to the Isthmus of Darién. Davis, moved by feelings of regard resulting from former kindnesses on the part of the Blair family, by a knowledge that alliance with Napoleon was now hopeless, and by a feeling of patriotism, gave close attention to the proposal and displayed a certain amount of sympathy with it. "But," in the words of Nicolay and Hay, "the government councils at Washington were not ruled by the spirit of political adventure. . . . Lincoln had a loftier conception of patriotic duty and a higher ideal of national ethics" and the affair was dropped.¹⁷

The Proposal of Gen. Lew Wallace.—Before the results of the Blair project had become known, the active mind of another venturesome spirit had conceived yet another plan. On January 14, 1865, Lew Wallace wrote Grant that he had reliable information to the effect that the Confederates of the Trans-Mississippi Department would come to terms with the North in order to make a joint attack upon the French in Mexico. While Blair was in Richmond he (Wallace) desired permission to proceed to Brazos Santiago, and upon his own authority to invite the commandant of Brownsville to an interview on the old battlefield of Palo Alto. There he would urge the adoption of the Juárez flag and the in-

¹⁷Nicolay and Hay, "Abraham Lincoln," in *Century Magazine*, new series, XVI, 838-844; see also, Jefferson Davis, *The rise and fall of the confederate government* (New York, 1881), I, 614-617.

vasion of Mexico as the basis of a compromise. Wallace urged that the success of his scheme would stagger the rebellion and declared that he would wager a month's pay that he would win and that "Blair and Company" would lose.

Eight days later, Wallace was instructed to visit the Rio Grande and Western Texas on a "tour of inspection." On March 11 and 12 he had an interview with the Confederate commanders, James E. Slaughter and John S. Ford, the nature of which he reported to Grant on March 14. Wallace was convinced that Slaughter and Ford had entered the rebellion reluctantly and that they were now "anxious to find some ground upon which they could honorably get from under what they admitted to be a failing Confederacy." At their request propositions for the cessation of hostilities were presented. These met their approval, and Ford agreed to carry them in person to Major-General J. G. Walker, who in turn was to forward them to E. Kirby Smith, Commander-in-Chief of the department. Slaughter and Ford, moreover, "entered heartily into the Mexican project," although the latter, judging from newspaper articles written by members of Smith's staff and favoring Imperial annexation, expressed misgivings regarding the attitude which would be assumed by that officer.

With high hopes regarding the outcome of his mission, Wallace proceeded to Galveston to await the responses of Walker and Smith. When, on April 1, Walker's reply came, it must have occasioned no little shock. The peace overtures were flatly and somewhat impolitely refused. After declaring the loyalty of the States of the Trans-Mississippi Department to the Confederacy, he added:

It would be folly in me to pretend that we are not tired of a war that has sown sorrow and desolation over our land; but we will accept no other than an honorable peace. With 300,000 men yet in the field, we would be the most abject of mankind if we should now basely yield all that we have been contending for during the last four years, namely, nationality and the rights of self-government. With the blessings of God we will yet achieve these, and extort from your government all that we ask. . . .

From Galveston Wallace proceeded to New Orleans, and, after making arrangements for direct communications with Smith and dispatching an agent to Ford and Slaughter in order to induce them to act independently, he set out for Baltimore. From the

latter place he reported that Walker was not in harmony with Smith and that consequently he would probably be relieved by Magruder, that Smith would come to terms provided he was not "too far committed to Maximilian, and that in the event . . . Davis and Smith attempted coalition with or annexation to the new empire of Mexico" they would be "resisted by the rebel soldiers themselves."

At last, on May 16, 1865, Wallace seems to have despaired of the success of his scheme. Writing from Washington on that date, he expressed his conviction that a secret alliance existed between the Texan Confederates and the Mexican Imperialists,—an alliance "contemplating ultimate annexation of Texas and mutual support, or the support without the annexation."¹⁸

An agreement probably of such a nature as Wallace supposed seems actually to have been considered, but other matters must be dealt with before we take up this thread of the story.

II. *The Confederacy and the North Mexican States*

When it became obviously useless to expect encouragement from Juárez, Confederate leaders looked elsewhere for aid. The three considerations which they desired most to obtain were arms and supplies, the rendition of criminals and deserters, and the nullification of the privilege of the United States to transport troops over Mexican territory. Since the bonds of the Mexican Confederation were extremely weak, they pursued the course which immediately recommended itself.

Projected Alliance with Vidaurri.—The most influential man in the Northern States of Mexico was Santiago Vidaurri. He had united Coahuila and Nuevo León under his sway, and the weakness of the Mexican Central government, together with his great popularity, enabled him to wield great influence in his own and neighboring states.¹⁹ He was, in 1861, nominally a supporter of Juárez, but being ambitious, he saw in an alliance with the Southerners a chance to increase his fame and probably his wealth. Assurances of his friendly disposition toward the Confederacy had reached President Davis during the summer, and the latter,

¹⁸*Official Records*, I, XLVIII, i, 201, 512, 1275-1278, ii, 457-458.

¹⁹Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, V, 698, 705, 733, 747.

desirous of obtaining his help, sent J. A. Quintero to Monterey in September. In a letter dated the third of that month Quintero was instructed to seek friendly relations with the Governor of Nuevo León; to express the gratification of the President upon learning of the friendship of that and adjacent Mexican States; to inquire as to the possibility of obtaining arms and ammunition; and to seek to induce Vidaurri to interfere in the proposed transportation of the United States munitions and troops across Mexican territory. Quintero was not, however, to take any steps, for the time being, with regard to the proposed union of the Confederate States with the provinces of Northern Mexico.²⁰

Upon his arrival at Monterey, the agent of the South was cordially received. He had little trouble in obtaining from Vidaurri the promise that he would not only protest against and oppose the passage of United States troops through Nuevo León and Coahuila, but that he would address communications to the governors of other frontier Mexican States urging them to take the same action.²¹ During the next three years Quintero resided at the Nuevo León capital where he was permitted to purchase lead and saltpeter for the Confederates and to lend his assistance to the contraband trade between the rebel and North Mexican States in general.²²

Meanwhile, Vidaurri was growing more and more hostile toward the Juárez government. Having made a complete break by the spring of 1864, he was soon forced to flee to Texas. There General Magruder of the Confederate army received him with open arms and the two apparently entered into plans looking towards an alliance between the Confederacy and the monarchical forces of Mexico.²³ It was not long thereafter until Vidaurri's friendship for the Imperialists led him to their capital where he was made Counsellor of State. In April, 1865, however, he visited Monterey, whence he wrote the Confederate commander of Brownsville that he had much information which he could not safely "submit to writing."²⁴

²⁰Richardson, *op. cit.*, II, 77-81.

²¹*Ibid.*, II, 151.

²²*U. S. Docs., Mexican Affairs*, 1865, 396.

²³*House Ex. Doc.*, 1, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 497-498; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 129-131.

²⁴*House Ex. Doc.*, 1, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 509.

Overtures to Terrazas of Chihuahua and Pesqueira of Sonora.—The relations of the Confederates with Vidaurri were the most noteworthy and profitable of any of their attempts in the frontier states. The Confederate military leaders, and not the Secretary of State, negotiated with the other North Mexican governors. To Hamilton P. Bee was given the task of preserving friendly relations with the executives which followed each other in quick succession in Tamaulipas. Brigadier-General H. H. Sibley of New Mexico made appeals to Terrazas of Chihuahua and to Pesqueira of Sonora.

Sibley sent out as his agent Colonel James Reily, who with virtually the same instructions proceeded first to Chihuahua, and then to Sonora. The great hospitality which he received upon his arrival at Chihuahua City led him to assume that his government had been recognized, and so he informed Sibley, congratulating him on "having been instrumental in obtaining the first official recognition by a foreign government of the Confederate States of America." Reily delivered a letter which Sibley had directed to Terrazas and, having received one in reply, he set out upon his return journey to Fort Bliss.

Sibley's letter has not been found, but from the response of Terrazas it may be gathered that the Confederate commander asked for favorable trade concessions, for an agreement allowing mutual crossing of the border in pursuit of Indians, and for opposition on the part of the Chihuahua governor to the transportation of United States troops across his state. The second proposal was politely declined; the first Terrazas promised gladly to grant; with reference to the third, he declared in his communication to Sibley that he would take orders from the Supreme Congress and not Juárez, but Reily said he told him personally he would not allow United States troops to cross over his territory, even if Congress should demand it.²⁵

Reily had set out on his mission to Chihuahua in the early part of January, 1862. Before the close of the month he had returned. In writing John H. Reagan regarding the matter, he declared enthusiastically that he had completed the entire mission in twenty-one days.²⁶

²⁵*Official Records*, I, IV, 167-174.

²⁶*Ibid.*, I, L, i, 825-826.

March 14 found him in Hermosillo, whither he had come on his journey to Sonora. From this place he addressed a communication to Governor Pesqueira who happened to be there at the time, asking him the favor of a personal interview. He also transmitted to the governor a letter from Brigadier-General Sibley, in which that officer made inquiries regarding reports to the effect that the Central Government of Mexico had conceded to the United States certain privileges regarding the transportation of troops and munitions of war across Mexican territory; proposed that the forces of Sonora and the Confederacy co-operate in the pursuit of marauding Indians; and asked the privilege of establishing a depot in the port of Guaymas, and of transit from thence through the territory of Sonora.

Three days later Reily received a reply to his own note as well as to the letter of Sibley, and before setting out for his command, he apparently boasted that he had obtained favorable concessions. In a letter addressed to the Federal Commander George Wright, on August 29, 1862, Pesqueira said, however, that he had managed Reily with considerable precaution but had promised him nothing, and assured Wright that a "step" through Sonora "by any force from the South under any pretext whatsoever" would be considered "an invasion by force of arms."²⁷ It is likely true that Pesqueira, finding himself between two rather formidable dangers, sought to conciliate both parties.²⁸

Had Pesqueira and Terrazas been never so friendly to the Confederates they would perhaps have found it rather difficult to extend them any effective aid, for the Federal officers of California, who had kept a close watch on Sonora since the very outbreak of the war, were, after their occupation of New Mexico and north-western Texas, in a position enabling them to keep the Confederate schemers under close surveillance. Carlton addressed a letter to each of these dignitaries expressing his unbounded confidence in their disinclination to help those who were defending a cause condemned by all Christian nations, and although J. R. West reported in December, 1862, that the Confederates "plotted with impunity" in El Paso [Ciudad Juárez] and other sections of Chihuahua, less than a year later the Federal agent in Chihuahua

²⁷*Ibid.*, I, L, ii, 93.

²⁸*Ibid.*, I, L, i, 988-992, 1030.

City declared that reports of powder leaving the State for the rebels originated in malice and were emphatically false.²⁹ Trade in other articles than arms and ammunition did continue, however.³⁰

Relations with Tamaulipas.—Free and friendly intercourse with the State of Tamaulipas was very important to the Confederacy, because the Port of Matamoras furnished the best, and almost the only, means of communication with the outside world. Matamoras was to the South what New York was to the North.³¹ Arms, ammunition, and supplies of every description from Europe were landed here, and then conveyed across the Rio Grande. Moreover, a small quantity of supplies could be purchased from the population of the State, and it was found convenient to convey goods bought from the district further north down the right bank of the Rio Bravo to Fort Brown. To handle this important and somewhat delicate situation, therefore, a man of considerable tact and knowledge of Mexican character was needed, and Hamilton P. Bee was chosen for the task. It is not the purpose of this monograph to enter into a detailed discussion of the quantity and value of the trade passing through this region, but rather to show how Confederate-Mexican relations affected it.

Before Bee assumed command of the "Sub-Military District of the Rio Grande" in April, 1862, Colonel John S. Ford and Lieutenant-Colonel A. Buchel had already made some efforts. At the very outset, they found matters complicated by contending chieftains in the State. P. N. Luckett, who as a member of the Vigilance Committee of Texas reported on the Rio Grande situation at the close of 1861, declared that the hostile forces in Tamaulipas were seizing, confiscating, and consuming nearly everything so that it was very difficult for the Confederate troops stationed at Fort Brown to get supplies.³² A year later, Buchel reported to his superior officer that Albino Lopez, at that time Governor of the State, had refused to allow the Confederate agent to pass corn purchased in Nuevo León through this territory. February 25, 1863, Bee said that he feared a decree of non-inter-

²⁹*Ibid.*, I, XXVI, i, 919, I, L, ii, 245.

³⁰*Ibid.*, I, L, ii, 425-426.

³¹*Ibid.*, I, XLVIII, i, 512-513.

³²*Ibid.*, I, IV, 97, 149-150, 152-153, 165.

course from the City of Mexico; but he so managed affairs that he was able to report in the early part of the following month that the "decree prohibiting the export of goods from Mexico to Texas is not enforced on this line." After the Northern forces took Brownsville, however, they exerted such influence upon the population of Tamaulipas that communication down the right bank of the river was extremely risky for the Confederates.³³

Indeed, from the very beginning Federal agents had been complicating matters by their intrigues at Matamoras. Not only did they offer inducements to deserters, so that it was difficult for the Confederates to maintain the morale of their troops, but they actually organized companies of soldiers and bandits, who preyed upon their commerce and often crossed over into Texas where they committed depredations. The most notorious of these bands was that organized by the United States consul at Matamoras under the leadership of Zapata. Beginning its robberies in the latter part of 1862, boasting of its loyalty to the Union and carrying the stars and stripes, this party continued to give constant trouble until it was dispersed by Lieutenant Santos Benavides in September, 1863. This is only one example; there were many others.³⁴

To remedy these evils, and at the same time to maintain peace, was an extremely difficult undertaking. Nevertheless, it had to be done, for not only was the situation injurious to Confederate trade, but it furnished a constant incitation for Southern soldiers to cross over to the Mexican side and seize the culprits. Bee lodged vigorous, yet diplomatic protests with the Governor of Tamaulipas, and eventually (February 25, 1863) obtained an agreement providing for the rendition of criminals and deserters and the return of stolen property, together with the privilege of crossing the border in pursuit of marauding banditti.³⁵ Even this treaty did not work satisfactorily, owing, as Bee thought, to the fear of, and the friendly disposition toward the North entertained by the people of Tamaulipas.³⁶

When at length the Northern troops occupied the left bank of the Rio Grande, the Confederates lost hope regarding Tamaulipas,

³³*Ibid.*, I, XXVI, ii, 399-400, 434.

³⁴*Ibid.*, I, XXVI, ii, 67-68, I, XXVI, i, 284-285, I, XV, 996.

³⁵*Ibid.*, I, XV, 197-198.

³⁶*Ibid.*, I, XV, 1051, 1127-1130, 1132-1135, I, XXVI, ii, 413.

and Bee, anticipating the great influence of the "Yankees" in Matamoras, wrote Quintero to make arrangement with Vidaaurri to have all trade pass through Monterey. Fortunately, they found this chief ready to grant them favors, and his city now became a more important center than ever for Confederate commerce and diplomacy.³⁷

III. Confederate Relations With the Monarchical Party in Mexico

While seeking to maintain friendly relations with, and to obtain the help of the officials in the frontier Mexican States, the Confederates were also making appeals to the French party in Mexico. Since Louis Napoleon was their avowed friend, it was rather natural to expect that he might extend them aid through Mexico, especially if by so doing he could benefit his Mexican undertaking. This policy of making an appeal to monarchy was perhaps not altogether to their liking, but the Southerners were willing, if it should become necessary, to sacrifice their sentiments and use their "powerful friends" in order to save themselves from what they considered a "worse fate."³⁸

Superviële Appeals to the Mexican Imperialists.—On January 1, 1863, even before the fall of Puebla, Hamilton P. Bee, pursuant to orders given by his superior in command, dispatched A. Superviële with instructions to communicate with the French naval officials who were supposed to be at Tampico, and to urge upon them the advantage of taking Matamoras. When he arrived at Matamoras, Superviële learned that the French had evacuated Tampico. He therefore took ship for Havana, reaching that destination February 3. Here he remained three weeks, during which time he was asked to a conference with the French consul. In the course of the interview Superviële assured this official that his mission to Mexico was prompted by friendship toward the French, and explained in a general way that he had in view the facilitation of the means of procuring mules for the French expe-

³⁷*Ibid.*, I, XXVI, ii, 395-401, 567.

³⁸Bee to Turner, August 6, 1863. *Official Records*, I, XXVI, ii, 142; see, also A. W. Tewell [Terrell] to De Notie in García, *Documentos para la historia de México*, XXXIII, 54.

dition, and "also the means of keeping alive their cotton manufactories, suffering greatly for the want of raw material."

From Havana the Confederate agent proceeded to Vera Cruz. On the day of his arrival there (February 28) he had a conference with the French Admiral whom he found a "great sympathizer in" the Confederate "cause, and a man well convinced of the importance of" his "proposals." The Admiral declared that if he were invested with the necessary power and men, he would not "hesitate a moment to carry out immediately an expedition against Matamoras," but under the circumstances it was impossible. The yellow fever was fast reducing the number of his sailors, some of the men-of-war having lost two-thirds of their crews already. Moreover, the best of intelligence did not exist between him and General Forey, the commander of the land forces, and he feared Forey would not understand Supervièle's mission. He advised the Confederate agent, therefore, to seek an interview with De Saligny whom the next mail from France would perhaps re-establish in his diplomatic powers.

Having decided to take the admiral's advice, Supervièle set out for the interior. Proceeding as far as Orizaba, he was forced, owing to general orders of non-communication, to remain there fifteen days. While thus detained, he was fortunate enough to have several interviews with A. Woll with whom he established "not only ordinary relations, but intimate friendship." In taking this step Supervièle said he had an eye to the future, for he knew that Woll had been appointed Minister of War and that he had been commissioned by the Emperor to organize the army of Mexico.

Having at length obtained permission, he left Orizaba on April 10, and five days later arrived in the vicinity of Puebla, where he visited De Saligny at his headquarters. That dignitary was very cordial, and he assured Supervièle that his sympathies were with the Confederacy, "that he himself was a Secessionist, and that his best friends were all engaged in the Southern cause." Thus encouraged, the Confederate agent explained his mission at length.

I exposed to him for the first time, in detail, the importance acquired by the port of Matamoras since the blockade . . . ; that the conduct of the Emperor from the beginning of our strug-

gle had gained all the sympathies of our government and people; that we looked upon France as our natural ally; . . . that our government and people would give the preference to the French for the acquisition of our cotton; . . . that by taking possession of Matamoras they could avoid great expense by sending agents into the States of Coahuila and Nuevo León to purchase at low prices any quantity of mules they wanted, and, by crossing them on the left bank of the river, they could be driven in safety down to the mouth with the protection of our authorities; . . . that for the supply of beeves they could have the same advantages; that as for the difficulties presented at the mouth of the river for the crossing of the bar, we could manage things in such a way that, without compromising either France or the Confederacy officially, we could . . . in secrecy furnish them with three lighters flying Mexican colors, but, in fact, belonging to us.

Upon being asked whether recognition was the price he expected for these favors, Supervièle refused to put the matter on that basis, declaring that for the moment he considered it of little importance, although such a step on the part of France would have a good moral effect.

The question of the occupation of Matamoras was referred to Generals Woll and Almonte who made a report altogether favorable. Forey, however, was opposed to the step until after the fall of Puebla and the occupation of Mexico City, whereupon he at last gave way. Moreover, the mail which arrived from France on June 2, brought a letter from the Emperor asking that the Mexican ports be taken. When Supervièle set out for his Government near the close of the same month, therefore, he carried the assurance from Saligny that Matamoras would soon be occupied, and a message of friendship from Almonte to the Confederate authorities.³⁹

But the promised occupation was delayed, and prospect of an early attack of the Federals on Brownsville, led E. Kirby Smith (September 2, 1863) to appeal to Slidell in France. After calling attention to the great scarcity of arms in the Trans-Mississippi Department and the danger of an early invasion on the part of the North, he declared that the intervention of the French Government alone could save Mexico from "having on its border a grasping, haughty, and imperious neighbor." If they ever in-

³⁹*Official Records*, I, XXVI, ii, 140-151.

tended to intervene, they should now take the east bank of the Rio Grande in order to keep open to the Confederates the only channel for the introduction of supplies.⁴⁰

To carry this letter to Slidell, Supervièle was again chosen. He was instructed first to proceed to Mexico in order to procure the release of certain vessels laden with arms which had been designed for the Confederacy, but which the French authorities thought were being imported by Juárez. If while in Mexico he became convinced that the admiral of the French navy was not unfriendly, he should "hand the letter to Mr. Slidell to him for perusal." In case he found that there was an official in Mexico with power independently to control the movements of the army, he was directed to show the letter to him also. Then he was to proceed to France.⁴¹

Supervièle reached Paris in the latter part of December, after the United States forces had already taken Brownsville. Slidell did not answer the communication until February, when he informed Smith and Magruder, in letters dated the same day, that he had already obtained the release of the arms under question. In regard to the taking of Matamoras, he said the French gave as their excuse for delay the scarcity of troops. This might be true, he thought, but he was sure that indisposition to come into contact with Federal troops had some weight.⁴² However this may be, Matamoras was not occupied until September, 1864.

The Mission of Preston.—Meantime, communications had been taken up between the State Department of the Confederacy and the Mexican Imperialists. In December, 1863, a confidential agent of Almonte, now head of the Imperial Government in Mexico, called upon Quintero in Monterey and informed him that the Regent, having already suggested to Napoleon the propriety of recognizing the Confederacy, was anxiously awaiting the arrival of a commissioner from the South. The communication of these facts led Judah P. Benjamin, who had now become Secretary of State, to send General William Preston as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico. He was instructed (January, 1864) to ascertain whether he would at once be received as the

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, I, XXII, ii, 993-994.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, I, XXVI, ii, 308-309.

⁴²*Ibid.*, I, LIII, *Supplement*, 960-961.

accredited ambassador of an independent government. Upon the arrival of Maximilian, he was to propose a treaty of alliance of ten years' duration for the common defense of the two governments against the United States. A treaty of amity and commerce was to be effected, also, and a free passage across Sonora and Chihuahua to the Pacific proposed.⁴³ When the new Emperor arrived, however, he gave no intimation of his desire to have official relations with the Confederacy, and Preston therefore was recalled.⁴⁴

Maximilian was no doubt influenced in this course by Napoleon. The minister of the Juárez government at Washington, and Dayton, United States minister to Paris, had kept Slidell well informed; and constant watch over, and protests against, his actions had led the French ruler to assume an attitude of caution and duplicity. Consequently, the Confederate Secretary practically despaired of Imperial aid after June, 1864.⁴⁵

The Trans-Mississippi Department seeks an Alliance with Maximilian.—But the Confederates west of the Mississippi were hard to discourage. They perhaps knew that neither Napoleon, nor Maximilian his tool, would openly recognize their government so long as there was a possibility of the North acquiescing in their Mexican occupation, but they felt that when once the French and Imperialists were convinced of the hostility of the United States of the North, they might then be led to accept the assistance offered by the Confederacy. At any rate, the Confederates were willing to make a last desperate appeal in the hope of saving whatever they could from the wreckage of their cause and of obtaining homes and employment.

In February, 1865, Smith asked Robert Rose whom he gave a permit to cross the border on private business, to make known to Maximilian his intention, in the event a catastrophe should befall the Confederacy, to seek refuge at the Imperial court. Smith suggested further, doubtless with the idea that Rose would use the suggestions for what they were worth, that his qualifications and influence might be of considerable value to His Majesty's

⁴³*Messages and papers of the confederacy*, II, 611, 613.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, II, 628, 663, 675.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, III, 675; Pierce Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin* (Philadelphia, 1907), 341-342.

government in inducing intelligent and daring soldiers of the South to espouse the Imperial cause in case of a collision with the United States of the North, or, at any rate, to colonize and strengthen his Empire.⁴⁶ Early in April, Slaughter turned over to Mejía, one of the Imperialist commanders, all the correspondence pertaining to the Lew Wallace scheme.⁴⁷ On May 2, Smith addressed a rather lengthy dispatch to Rose instructing him while disclaiming diplomatic capacity to give assurance to the Imperial authorities that the Confederates were willing to enter into a liberal agreement "for mutual protection from their common enemy." The letter went on to state that evidences from many sources clearly revealed that the North, looking "with jealous eyes upon the neighboring empire of Mexico," was meditating a "blow aimed for its destruction," and that the assistance of the gallant troops under his command, some anxious to render military service in return for homes, others ready to "rally around any flag" promising to lead them to battle against their former foe, . . . would be of inestimable value" to the Imperial cause.⁴⁸

After the surrender of Lee, the Confederates of the Trans-Mississippi Department, probably expecting that Davis would flee across the river, attempted to organize an army of 15,000 men at Marshall, Texas, for the invasion of Mexico. These plans miscarried, but when Smith surrendered the department on May 26, 1865, the Texans managed to retain their guns and considerable ammunition. Smith declared that they mutinied, but Sheridan who was sent to the scene later expressed his belief that the scheme had been prearranged. The Texans, thus supplied, returned home boasting that there would still be a day of reckoning for the North; and, in the course of a few months, some three or four thousand of them made their way into Mexico, where they continued to press their case upon the Imperial authorities.⁴⁹

There has recently come to light a somewhat daring proposal made by one of these refugees who had found service in the French army. In a letter marked confidential, but bearing no date, A.

⁴⁶*Official Records*, I, XLVIII, i, 1358-1359.

⁴⁷García, *Documentos . . . para la historia de Méjico*, XXVII, 30-38, 68-70, 80-81, 86-87, 139-140.

⁴⁸*Official Records*, I, XLVIII, ii, 1292-1293.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, i, 297-303, ii, 775.

W. Tewell [Terrell]⁵⁰ submitted a proposal to Count Noüe of Bazaine's staff. Before coming directly to the point, Terrell expressed his admiration for the "flag of the great French nation" and intimated that he still clung to the idea of delivering the South. He then asked, in view of the diplomatic complications at that time surrounding the Mexican question and keeping him inactive as they had for the "last month," the following favors:

1st.—Permit me publicly to dissolve my connection with the French army. The news of that connection has perhaps reached the United States, and the fact that my connection with the French Government has ceased to exist should be publicly known to prevent yankee suspicion of my future purposes.

2nd.—Furnish me with six months' pay and permit me to go to the Capitol of Texas [where no oath will be required of me]. Through the Governor of that State I can obtain accurate information of the plans and purposes of the yankee Government at all times, and can obtain the earliest information of every secret filibusterous enterprise intended for Mexico.

. . . Should war begin between France and the United States I would be on the ground, and would fall on the right flank of the yankee force on the Rio Grande in 30 days with from 2 to 4000 cavalry and open communication with your forces at Piedras Negras or Monterrey.

. . . My brigade *was never surrendered* but *disbanded* by me each soldier taking home an Enfield rifle and 100 rounds of ammunition, they were ordered by me to keep their arms concealed.

Terrell added, in conclusion, that the enterprise he proposed was not in accordance with his tastes, but that he accepted it as the "only path of usefulness open before him," and asked that in case his plan met with favor, he be sent to Mexico City in order to obtain verbal instructions and to work out a system of cypher.⁵¹

The Confederate appeals to the Imperialists met with considerable encouragement. Tomás Mejía, one of the commanders of the French and Mexican forces on the northern frontier, seems to have entered a quasi-alliance with them. December 2, 1864,

⁵⁰The writer's account of his career in the army, his statement that he was a lawyer, and the well-known fact that Terrell went to Mexico immediately after the surrender of his department, all point to him as the author. The double "r" could be easily mistaken for a "w."

⁵¹García, *Documentos . . . para la historia de Méjico*, XXXIII, 50-54.

Slaughter addressed a letter to him, the tone of which indicated a good understanding between the two officials. Mejía was assured that the "Confederate Government and authorities would use all their efforts to continue and perpetuate the most friendly relations with the Imperial Government," and that any vessels sailing under its flag in Confederate waters would be "treated with every consideration."⁵² Slaughter later wrote that the imperial commander of the port of Bagdad had informed him that he had private instructions to permit all the arms, ammunition, and supplies of war the Confederates desired to be introduced and passed—an arrangement which accorded with a private proposal previously made to Mejía.⁵³ On November 5, 1864, Florentino López, another Imperialist commander, wrote Kirby Smith in order to express liberal sentiments toward the Confederacy and to ask that F. Ducayet, one of its secret agents, be given power to negotiate with the Empire. Smith replied that he had not the authority so to clothe Ducayet, but that he would forward the letter of López to the President with strong recommendations in behalf of that agent.⁵⁴ In January, 1865, Quintero was said to have had an interview with Marshal Bazaine, and rumors were abroad to the effect that bearers of dispatches from Maximilian through Kirby Smith to Jefferson Davis had passed simultaneously through Mobile, Alabama, and Jackson, Mississippi.⁵⁵

Bazaine seems to have given the idea of a Confederate alliance rather careful consideration, even going so far as to ask the advice of a member of the Belgian legation in Mexico. This official who responded with a note of considerable length advised great caution in regard to the Confederate machinations. While he did not think open hostilities with the United States were probable, nevertheless, he deemed it wise, in view of the state of excitement which existed in that country, not to furnish a "rallying cry for the popular passions." So far from giving aid to the rebels who when joined by Jeff. Davis are contemplating a last stand there, it might be wise to oppose them; for a final resistance on the part of the rest of the South in Texas would be a great source of

⁵²*House Ex. Doc.*, 1, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 503-504.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 504-510.

⁵⁴*Official Records*, I, XLVIII, i, 1379-1380.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, ii, 307-308, 771.

danger to the Maximilian Empire. The North was gradually disarming and disbanding its troops; in six months, if matters were quietly allowed to take their course, the danger will have passed. If, however, it should become necessary for the North to send a large army to the southwestern frontier, deplorable complications might result. He advised therefore that when the Confederates came across the Rio Grande, a great pretense (*lujo*) of neutrality and respect for a neighboring nation be made, and that they be compelled to lay down their arms. In conclusion, he recommended that if Davis sought refuge there, he should "be shown all the consideration due a great character," but given every encouragement to proceed to Europe, "for, unfortunately, he could be in Mexico only a provocation, a centre of conspiracy. . . ." ⁵⁶

The advice of the Belgian official, together with the presence of Sheridan's "Army of Observation" on the Rio Grande, caused Bazaine and the Mexican Imperialists to move with considerable care. The organized force which Shelby conveyed across the border was disarmed, arms which the Confederates in their retreat before the enemy had given to the Imperialists were apparently surrendered, and as late as September, 1865, Terrell's proposal remained unaccepted. The French foreign legion, however, was augmented by Confederate soldiers, and it was reported that Shelby's band had later been given service in the Imperial army, while another Southern officer was in Matamoras enlisting his friends. ⁵⁷

Proposed Confederate Colonization.—Moreover, a colonization scheme which the North, judging from the statements of the Confederates considered hostile, was promulgated. Perhaps the most persistent promoter of colonization in Maximilian's empire was Ex-Senator William M. Gwin of California, who, although he wished himself to be considered a Jacksonian Democrat strongly opposed to secession, ⁵⁸ must have given considerable impetus to this Confederate movement into Mexico. September, 1863, found him in Paris, whither he had gone after a term of confinement in

⁵⁶García, *Documentos . . . para la historia de Méjico*, XXVII, 245-249.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, XXXIII, 45-49; Percy F. Martin, *Maximilian in Mexico* (London, 1914), 425; *Official Records*, I, XLVIII, ii, 1015, 1077, 1148-1149, 1192.

⁵⁸W. M. Gwin, *Memoirs* (MS. in Bancroft Library, 1878), 187, 199.

a Federal prison.⁵⁹ Here he soon had interviews with several men of state and, eventually, with the Emperor himself. He was questioned closely concerning the development of California, the prospects for a Pacific Republic, and the possibility of settling a mining population in the North Mexican States. As a result of these conferences, Gwin left France for Mexico in the early summer of 1864, "fortified," as he thought, "by the whole power of the French Government and the Mexican Imperial Government about to be established, and by direct orders to the French general in Mexico, to give him what military aid he might require to lay the foundation" of a colony embracing Eastern Sonora and Western Chihuahua.⁶⁰

The plan for such a colony had been carefully devised, and contained, in brief, the following provisions:

1. The territory of the proposed settlement was to be erected into a department governed by military and municipal law.

2. All unoccupied agricultural lands were to be open to immigrants, and each occupant should receive one hundred and sixty acres of land for two years' residence and the payment of \$1.25 per acre.

3. A seignorage of six per cent of the gross proceeds of all gold and silver mines was to be paid in bullion into the imperial treasury, and the necessary assay offices were to be established.

4. The French government was to furnish competent military protection to immigrants coming to the colony, and a Director-in-chief of Colonization was to be appointed by the Emperor.⁶¹

Gwin's comments on his project indicate that he expected immigrants largely from the mining regions of the United States and British Columbia, while he hoped they would be augmented ultimately by emigration from France, Germany, Spain and South America.⁶² The Emperor Napoleon advised him to "abstain from

⁵⁹*Daily Alta California*, November 17 and 23, 1861; *San Francisco Herald*, November 18 and 23, 1861; *Overland Monthly*, second series, XVII, 499. For Gwin's political career the writer is indebted to Miss Helen Blattner who has written a Master's thesis on this subject at the University of California.

⁶⁰Bigelow, *Retrospections of an active life* (N. Y., 1910-1913), II, 190; Gwin, *Memoirs*, 224.

⁶¹"Plan of Colonization in Sonora and Chihuahua," in *Overland Monthly*, second series, XVII, 502.

⁶²*Notes Explanatory of the Plan of Colonization in Sonora and Chihuahua*, loc. cit., XVII, 503-505.

all connection with the Civil War in the United States" and to show no partiality to citizens of one section or the other.⁶³ Nevertheless, the plan was interpreted as purely Confederate not only by the Richmond Government itself, but by the United States Government and the Mexican minister at Washington.

June 2, 1864, Slidell, the Confederate ambassador at Paris, who had been associated with Gwin during his presence there,⁶⁴ wrote Judah P. Benjamin that Gwin was on the way to Mexico where he intended to colonize Sonora with persons of southern birth or sympathies, and that he thought the project would, if carried out, be beneficial to the Confederacy.⁶⁵ During the same month Preston wrote Jefferson Davis from Havana to the effect that Gwin was very anxious to secure friendly relations between Mexico and the Confederacy, since his scheme depended upon the emigration of southern men from California. Accordingly, Gwin was expected to get Maximilian to recognize the Southern Government.⁶⁶

On July 8, 1865, the Mexican Minister, Romero, enclosed to Seward letters and newspaper clippings which the former considered as plainly showing that the project proposed to "take to the frontier of Mexico all the discontented citizens of the United States living in the South, with the design of organizing them under the protection and with the assistance of France." Of these documents only a clipping from the *New Orleans Times* need concern us here. It was written by a correspondent who seemed not to be in sympathy with the Gwin project, but who, nevertheless, thought there was no doubt that it would succeed. "He [Gwin] goes out," the writer declares, "as director general of immigration from Sonora, Chihuahua, Durango, and Tamaulipas, with extraordinary powers and *eight thousand* French troops to back him. The emigration is to be strictly Southern, or Confederate. Ten thousand confederates are to be armed and paid by the empire, but kept in the above-mentioned states as protection to the emigrants. Strategical points are to be fortified and garrisoned on the frontier. Dr. Gwin's son has applied for and will get an ex-

⁶³Gwin, *Memoirs*, 224.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 201.

⁶⁵John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an active life*, II, 190.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, II, 197-198.

clusive privilege for all the railroads in Sonora. 'The southerners are elate and golden visions float before them.' Indeed they "seriously proclaim" that the empire will be saved by the emigration of their comrades who will "rally by thousands at the call of Gwin, and raise an impassible bulwark against American aggression."⁶⁷

Such were the opinions concerning Gwin's plan. It is unnecessary to relate the delays and anxieties through which he passed during 1864 and 1865. Gwin's ship like many others was shattered upon the rock of Mexican prejudice against foreigners.⁶⁸ By July, 1865, he had given up all hope of success and asked for an escort out of Mexico. He desired to leave *via* the Rio Grande in order, as he said, to warn the Confederates who had become interested in this scheme not to enter Mexico.⁶⁹

The Southerners, however, were not easily baffled. Gwin had scarcely gotten safely out of Mexico when they entered enthusiastically into another project destined to prove but little more successful than that championed by the California Ex-Senator. On October 10, 1865, Romero transmitted to Seward extracts from the *Mexico Times*, a paper published in English in Mexico City. These, he declared, showed that Maximilian had thrown aside "all dissimulation" by making public his plans for colonizing Mexico with discontented citizens of the United States. As agents of Colonization such prominent Confederates as Ex-Governor Sterling Price of Missouri, Judge John Perkins of Louisiana, Ex-Governor Isham G. Harris of Tennessee, and W. T. Hardeman and Roberts of Texas had been chosen. M. F. Maury, Ex-Lieutenant of the United States navy and later a Confederate commissioner to Europe, had been chosen as Commissioner of Immigration.

The *Mexico Times* was the organ of the project. Speaking through its columns on September 23, the promoters stated that two of their agents had proceeded to Córdoba and the region bordering on the *tierra caliente*, while the other two had set out for Tepic and the country bordering on the Pacific. They urged

⁶⁷*House Ex. Doc.*, 1, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 517.

⁶⁸Gwin, *Memoirs*, 246-248. The knowledge that the United States looked with disfavor upon Gwin's project may have had some influence. See Bigelow, *op. cit.*, III, 122.

⁶⁹Gwin, *Memoirs*, 248.

patience on the part of their friends, promising them that in a short time the whole country would lie out before them, where they might be as free to choose as Lot when Abraham sought to conciliate him!

The following week this same paper gave a list of more than a hundred prominent Confederates who had recently arrived in Mexico City, and reported rumors to the effect that Sterling Price had "taken service under Maximilian" with authority to "recruit a cavalry force of thirty thousand men from the late Confederate army," and that "other prominent rebels had received kind favors from the Emperor, whose intentions are to collect a force of at least one hundred thousand rebels in less than one year in order to face General Sheridan on the Rio Grande."⁷⁰

Early in the following month (November) Romero sent Seward five decrees of Maximilian which shed considerable light upon the matter. Maury had been made not only Commissioner of Colonization, but also Counsellor of State, while J. B. Magruder had been named Chief of the Colonization land office with an annual salary of \$3,000. The nature of the colonization was confirmed by the fact that while Maury was authorized to establish agencies in Virginia, North and South Carolina, Texas, Missouri, Alabama, Louisiana and California, nothing was said about the northern states.⁷¹

November 12, 1865, Agent Harris wrote from Córdoba to G. W. Adair, of Atlanta, Georgia, that Maximilian, after having published a decree (September 5, 1865) opening all Mexico to colonization, had asked certain Confederates to prepare regulations to accompany the decree and that they had complied with the request. He spoke very highly of the prospects for coffee growing in that section and stated that about thirty of his friends were present ready to commence the work of settlement.⁷²

During the month of December Maury published an offer of 350,000 acres of land to Confederates at prices ranging from \$1.00 to \$1.75 per acre. He published, also, an extensive address to all persons wishing to settle in Mexico. In the letter, he stated

⁷⁰*House Ex. Doc.*, 1, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 522-525.

⁷¹Romero to Seward, November 4, 1865. *Ibid.*, 526-527.

⁷²*House Ex. Doc.*, 1, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 528-530. It was the opinion of Attorney General Speed that the Colonization decrees of Maximilian were designed to establish a certain form of slavery. *Ibid.*, 477-479.

that gentlemen representing many thousand families in Europe and hundreds from the Southern States were "anxiously seeking information in regard to the country . . . with the view of making it their home." Generals Price, Shelby, and Harris were intending to settle at Córdoba; Generals Hardeman and Terry, with others from Texas, were negotiating for the purchase of haciendas in Jalisco. Reverend Mitchell of Missouri had "already commenced a fine settlement on the Rio Verde, in San Luis Potosí."⁷³

Such was the auspicious beginning, but the whole grand scheme was destined to collapse. The Federal commanders in California and Texas rigidly guarded immigration; Terry and his Texans failed to put the Jalisco deal through;⁷⁴ and the little settlement founded at Carlotta, near Córdoba, became involved in difficulties which led to its destruction by the Liberalist forces.⁷⁵ The *New York Tribune* of June 22, 1866, reported that Price, Harris, and Perkins were preparing to return to the United States.⁷⁶ How long Magruder and Maury basked in the imperial light it is impossible to say. Certainly not more than a few months.⁷⁷ November 4, 1870, United States Minister to Mexico, Thomas H. Nelson, wrote to the Secretary of State that the "large number of citizens of the Southern States of the Union who came to Mexico immediately after the rebellion" had "almost all returned to the United States," and there was not, at the time of writing, "a single notability remaining out of the many Confederate refugees."⁷⁸

⁷³*Ibid.*, 531-535.

⁷⁴A. E. Waggner, *Life of David Terry* (San Francisco, 1892), 230 *et seq.*; *Official Records*, I, XLVIII, i, 297-303; *Documentos . . . para la historia de Méjico*, XXVII, 96-97.

⁷⁵*House Ex. Doc.*, 1, Part III, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 214-215.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷Maximilian was executed June 19, 1866.

⁷⁸*U. S. Docs., Foreign Relations*, 1870, 295.

THE LITERATURE OF CALIFORNIA HISTORY

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

I. *Printed Works*

- A. Bibliographies.
- B. Source materials.
 - a. Continuing sets.
 - b. Original narratives edited by historical scholars and published separately or in other than California sets.
- C. Periodicals.
- D. Books.
 - a. Important works on the background of California history.
 - (a). Approaches of the Spaniards.
 - (b). Approaches of the English and Russians.
 - (c). The American conquest of California, according to the narratives of eye-witnesses.
 - b. Important general histories of California and notable monographs.
 - c. Historical works, of a somewhat popular character, on special subjects.
 - d. Popular general histories of California in one volume.
 - e. Historical works on other subjects, but containing abundant material on California history.
 - f. Works which are descriptive, rather than historical, but which are of value for the general public.

II. *Manuscripts*

- A. Guides to manuscript materials.
- B. The Bancroft Library.
- C. Public archives in California.
- D. Archives beyond the State.

I. *Printed Works*

The number of printed works which directly touch upon California in such a way as to make them worthy of consideration as materials for the history of the state is very great. Moreover, an incalculably vast number deal at least to some extent with California. Cowan and Bancroft (both referred to hereinafter) have, respectively, about a thousand and three thousand items in their bibliographies, although the latter includes manuscripts as well as printed works. These numbers, however, are far from

representing all that had appeared up to their dates of publication. Nevertheless, while there is an enormous body of writings that are useful as materials for California history, the number of first-class historical works is distinctly limited. It is possible to include a reference to all of them here, and, besides, give some examples of different categories of other works. No attempt is made here to attain to adequate proportions in the items treated when compared with one another; the briefest comment commensurate with each given case has been adopted. Within groups a chronological arrangement is followed.

A. Bibliographies.

Many of the historical works mentioned below in section D contain bibliographies, and none is more important than the volumes of Bancroft. Attention is directed also to the manuscript guides referred to at II. A. Two works are deserving of notice here.

1. Cowan, Robert Ernest. *A bibliography of the history of California and the Pacific west 1510-1906*. San Francisco. 1914.

This is a critical bibliography of about a thousand printed works, or books, arranged alphabetically by authors' names, with a chronological index according to dates of publication and a title and subject index. A limited edition of 250 copies was printed. It is unquestionably one of the most valuable tools in existence for students of California history.

2. Bepler, Doris West, and Charles Edward Chapman. *Descriptive catalogue of the materials for history in California periodicals*.

This item is included, although it has not yet gone to press and cannot possibly appear in print before 1920. Enough has been done, however, to assure completion of the manuscript at some time in 1919 or 1920. The volume was planned by Doctor Chapman, and prepared in preliminary fashion, under the personal direction of Miss Bepler, by his class in California history. Miss Bepler is now engaged in unifying and correcting the entire preliminary work and in the preparation of an introduction on the history of California periodicals other than the newspapers. Both Miss Bepler and Doctor Chapman will give their attention

to the final stages of getting the manuscript ready for the press. The work is based on the files of leading California periodicals, other than the newspapers, together with rare items in magazines that are less well known. Over 3000 items have thus far been accumulated. They are arranged alphabetically by authors' names. Each entry has full technical information about the article in question and an indication of the content and point of view of the article, supplementing the title. There is also a periodical index and a subject index. It is expected that this will prove to be a useful aid, not only to students of history, but also to the public at large.

B. Source materials.

Many of the works included in section D might have been placed here since they are more properly materials for history, according to the point of view of the present-day student, than histories in themselves. It has seemed better, however, to narrow section B to include only such published documentary materials as did not originally contemplate being classed as "books." A list to suit the needs of specialists would reach enormous proportions, including such items as law reports and state documents generally, while even the works of historical scholars are not few in number. The volumes mentioned below are merely representative. A number of others of excellent calibre might easily be added.

a. Continuing sets.

The three items referred to here still continue publication; the inclusive dates indicate merely the issue of the earliest and latest volumes of the series.

1. Historical society of southern California, *Publications*. 10 v. Los Angeles. 1884-1917. Separate parts, usually entitled *Annual publication*, are issued, and when enough of these accumulate to provide sufficient bulk a volume is brought out. Ordinarily there are three parts to a volume, though some have more and others less. There have been minor variations in title.

This valuable set is devoted primarily to the California pioneers, but also contains a wide variety of materials, most of them articles having a bearing on the local history of southern California, ranging in kind from the somewhat unscientific to the best type of

work by historical scholars. Most of the articles, however, belong in the category of popular history and reminiscence. Most notable of those who have contributed frequently to this set is the late James M. Guinn. Part I of volume II (issued as volume II, since the intended part 2 was not published) differs in character from the other volumes. Its subtitle reads *Documents from the Sutro collection, translated, annotated and edited by Geo. Butler Griffin*. Nineteen documents are given in both the original Spanish and an English translation. Seven are letters, or portions of letters, alluding to California and ranging in date from 1584 to 1595; eight more deal with Vizcaino; two letters of Father Serra follow; and then two diaries of Pérez's voyage of 1774, kept by Father Tomás de la Peña and Juan Crespi and occupying nearly two-thirds of the volume, wind up the list.

2. Academy of Pacific coast history, *Publications*. 4 v. (issued in 1910, 1911, 1918, and 1919.) Berkeley, California. 1909-1919.

This set represents the Bancroft Library, sometimes known as the Academy of Pacific Coast History,—compare section II. B.,—although since 1911 most of the more important works of single-volume character have been included in the *Publications in history* series, discussed in the next following item. The *Publications* of the Academy have been devoted primarily to the translating and editing of documents. Thus diaries of Portolá (1769-1770), Vila (1769-1770), Costansó (1769-1770), Fages (1770), Font (1775-1776), Fages (1781-1782), and Durán (1817) are given in both Spanish and English. Diaries in English by Patrick Breen of the Donner party and Nelson Kingsley, a pioneer of '49, also appear. There are two contemporary narratives of the Portolá expedition, in Spanish and in English translation, and over a volume on the papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851. Two of the items in volume 1 are the only ones in the set that are not in the category of source material. One of these is a brief article by Carl Copping Plehn on *The San Francisco clearing house certificates of 1907-1908*, published in 1909, and the other is the doctoral dissertation (in 107 pages) of Rayner Wickersham Kelsey entitled *The United States consulate in California*, published in 1910, dealing with the activities of Thomas O. Larkin. An attempt has been made

to attain to the highest standards of scholarship in the presentation of the materials in this set.

3. University of California, *Publications in history*. 9 v. Berkeley, California. 1911-1919.

While items have appeared in this set over the widest possible range as regards historical content, most of the works fall within the fields of Pacific coast, southwestern, and Hispanic American history, or in other words those which are primarily dependent on such materials as exist in the Bancroft Library. It is the aim to make them represent the highest type of historical scholarship, as exhibited, chiefly, through the medium of historical monographs, though such items as manuscript guides (compare number 2 in Section II. A) may be expected to appear from time to time. Many of these works have a direct bearing on California history. The contents of the volumes thus far published are the following:

- v. I. *Studies in American history*. 1914.
 - no. 1. McCormac, Eugene Irving. *Colonial opposition to imperial authority during the French and Indian war*. 1911.
 - no. 2. Smith, Donald Eugene. *The viceroy of New Spain*. 1913.
 - no. 3. Hughes, Anne Eugenia. *The beginnings of Spanish settlement in the El Paso district*. 1914.
- v. II. Marshall, Thomas Maitland. *A history of the western boundary of the Louisiana purchase, 1819-1841*. 1914.
- v. III. Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *Texas in the middle eighteenth century*. 1915.
- v. IV. [Without title. Not yet bound.]
 - no. 1. Myres, John Linton. *The influence of anthropology on the course of political science*. 1916.
 - no. 2. Van Nostrand, John James. *The reorganization of Spain by Augustus*. 1916.
 - no. 3. Teggart, Frederick John. *The processes of history*. 1918.
 - no. 4. See no. 20 in section I. D. b.
- v. V. See no. 6 in section I. D. a. (a).
- v. VI. Gittinger, Roy. *The formation of the state of Oklahoma (1803-1906)*. 1917.

- v. VII. See no. 9 in section I. D. a. (b).
- v. VIII. See no. 2 in section II. A.
- v. IX. Cunningham, Charles Henry. *The audiencia in the Spanish colonies, as illustrated by the audiencia of Manila.* 1919.

A number of other volumes which will be incorporated in this set are nearing completion.

b. Original narratives edited by historical scholars and published separately or in other than California sets.

It would be possible to include a great many items under this heading. Those which follow are merely representative of the class.

1. Garcés, Francisco. *On the trail of a Spanish pioneer; the diary and itinerary of Francisco Garcés (missionary priest) in his travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California, 1775-1776*, tr. from Sp. to Eng. ed. by Elliott Coues. 2 v. (American explorers series. III). New York. 1900.
2. *Spanish explorations in the southwest, 1542-1706*, tr. from Sp. to Eng. ed. by Herbert Eugene Bolton. (Original narratives of early American history series.) New York. 1916. Contains translations of diaries and reports concerning expeditions of Rodríguez Cabrillo, Ferrelo, Vizcaino, Rodríguez (Agustín), Espejo, Oñate, Bosque, Domínguez de Mendoza, León, and Kino.

C. Periodicals.

As will appear from item 2 in section I. A., many periodicals have occasional articles of value for history. Two of them are so directly devoted to California history, however, that they deserve special mention.

1. *Southwestern historical quarterly.* 22 v. (July, 1897,-April, 1919.) Austin, Texas. 1898-1919. Title to April, 1912: Texas state historical association, *Quarterly*.

Down to 1912 this excellent periodical belonged in the category of local, though scholarly, state historical quarterlies, and confined its attention almost wholly to the state of Texas. With the change of title in 1912 the scope of the periodical was enlarged to include the entire southwest and the Pacific coast. Since that time it has attained to a national reputation as one of the leading historical magazines in the country. California is

well represented in the articles that have been published since 1912. Indeed, this periodical is the principal resort of students of California history seeking articles of the most scholarly type.

2. *Grizzly bear magazine*. 24 v. (May, 1907,-April, 1919.) Los Angeles. 1907-1919. Title to March, 1913: *Grizzly bear*. Issued monthly. Volumes complete in six numbers.

This periodical, which is the official organ of the Native Sons (N. S. G. W.) and Native Daughters (N. D. G. W.) of the Golden West, has inevitably become in great measure a magazine of California history,—inevitably, because the foundation stone of the two orders it represents is the glorious traditions of California, in which state one must have been born in order to be eligible for membership to these fraternal organizations. During its comparatively brief existence the *Grizzly bear magazine* has published nearly three hundred articles of history. While most of them are popular or reminiscent, a number were provided by the leading historians of the state, often representing for the first time the results of their investigations.

D. Books.

While the word "Books" would ordinarily include many of the works already cited, it is employed here in order to avoid such terms as "Historical works" (which many of the items that follow are not), since a broader basis of entry is desired,—one equivalent to the inclusion of all pertinent works other than those taken up in I. A. B. C. and II.

- a. Important works on the background of California history.

Of the peoples of the earth who had their opportunity to acquire California, only the Spaniards, the English and the Russians, and the Americans demand consideration here. Works on Indians, apart from their relations with other peoples, belong to the field of anthropology rather than to that of history, and the Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, Portuguese, and French either did not get near enough to California to be dangerous or else are lacking in an adequate literature descriptive of their endeavors. In addition to the items cited below, the general histories in I. D. b. contain pertinent material.

- (a). Approaches of the Spaniards.

The Spanish approaches to California may be said to date from the year 1521, with the definitive occupation of Mexico City by Cortés. From that time forward the Spaniards worked their way toward California by easy stages, until settlements were founded there in 1769. The number of published volumes, even with the omission of the many works about Cortés (which do not appear in the lists given below), is very great. Most of them, down to the close of the eighteenth century, were written by members of religious orders, while, for reasons of state, even the works of civilians were required to have a certain religious tinge about them.¹ Present-day historians are endeavoring to check up and supplement the earlier writers by making use of official government correspondence. The following lists will give some idea of the writers who have dealt with Spanish activities in the line of their advance toward California.² Where two dates are given they are for the year in which the author completed his volume and for that of its publication,—often centuries later; where only one date appears, it indicates that completion and publication were virtually together.

Franciscans

Mendieta	1596	1870
Torquemada	1615	1723
Tello	1653	1890-1891
Vetancurt	1697	
Arlegui	1737	
Espinosa	1746	
Beaumont	1780	1873-1874
Arriçivita	1792	
Frejes	1833	1879

Jesuits

Pérez de Ribas.....	1645	
Florescia	1694	
Kino	1710	1919

¹Spain feared the entrance of foreign ideas almost as much as she did that of foreign armies. Tribunals were instituted, notably that of the Inquisition, which exercised a rigorous censorship over all volumes published in or entering Spain's dominions.

²For full bibliographical entry, with one exception (Kino, which is included here), see Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California* (cited at I. b. 19), 438-444.

Ortega	1754	
Burriel	1757	
Alegre	1767	1842
Baegert	1772	
Clavigero	1789	
Cavo	1794	1870

Civilians.

Suárez de Peralta.....	1589	1878
Herrera	1601-1615	
N N.....	1655	
González Cabrera Bueno.....	1734	
Mota Padilla	1742	1871-1872
Gálvez	1771	1867
Humboldt	1809-1814	
Priestley	1916	

In addition, the general histories of both Mexico and California have much information. Six of the above works deserve special mention, because they are concerned almost wholly or in very great part with the Spanish approaches to California.

1. Kino, Eusebio. *Father Kino's historical memoir of Pimería Alta*, tr. from Sp. to Eng. ed. by Herbert Eugene Bolton. 2 v. Cleveland. 1919. The original Spanish memoir is on the calendar for publication in the *Publications in history* series of the University of California.

This deals with the important work of Father Kino in Pimería Alta, much of which is now in southern Arizona, from 1687 to 1711. Kino stands out as one of the landmarks in the history of the Spanish approaches to California. The translation and editing by Professor Bolton leave nothing to be desired; indeed, few if any of the works of this scholar, who is without a rival in knowledge of this general field, have received more exceptional and painstaking care in preparation than this volume.

2. Burriel, Andrés Marcos. *Noticia de la California y de su conquista temporal y espiritual, hasta el tiempo presente. Sacada de la historia manuscrita, formada en México año de 1739. [!] por el padre Miguel Venegas; y de otras noticias y relaciones antiguas, y modernas.* 3 v. Madrid. 1757. A poor translation into English, with omissions of

parts of the original, was published at London in 1759, followed in 1764 by a second edition.

This history was published anonymously by the author, on which account it has until recent years been ascribed to Venegas, whose name appears on the title-page.³ It deals with the Spanish achievements in Baja California and related problems in Sonora and Sinaloa, but advances strong arguments for the extension of Spanish conquests to Monterey. Next to the works of Father Palou it has been relied upon by historians of California more than any work ever published prior to the nineteenth century.

3. Baegert, Jakob. *Nachrichten von der amerikanischen halbinsel Californien*. Mannheim. 1772.
4. Clavigero, Francisco Javier. *Storia della California*. 2 v. in 1. Venezia. 1789.

Baegert and Clavigero, like Burriel, deal with the Spanish conquests in Baja California. Their works have been overshadowed by the fame of Burriel's *Noticia*, but they provide valuable supplementary material.

5. Gálvez, José de, *marqués de Sonora*. *Informe general que . . . entregó al excmo sr. virrey . . . Antonio Bucarely y Ursúa . . . 31 de diciembre de 1771*. México. 1867.
6. Priestley, Herbert Ingram. *José de Gálvez, visitor-general of New Spain (1765-1771)*. (University of California, *Publications in history*, v. V.) Berkeley. 1916.

Both the *Informe*, or Report, of Gálvez and the volume by Doctor Priestley deal principally with general financial reforms by Gálvez in New Spain, but each has important chapters on the immediate background of the Spanish advance to San Diego and Monterey. The earlier work is now of little more than academic value, for Doctor Priestley was able to supplement the information it afforded by the use of other printed volumes and of a wide range of hitherto unpublished materials from the archives of Spain. Doctor Priestley's book was awarded the second prize in 1918 in the Loubat Prize Essay contest of Columbia University.

³For the reasons why Burriel withheld his own name, see Fita y Colomé, Fidel, *Noticia de la California, obra anónima del P. Andrés Marcos Burriel*, in Real academia de la historia, *Boletín*, LII (Madrid. 1908), 396-438.

(b.) Approaches of the English and Russians.

While the literature on this topic is abundant, it is not necessary in a history of California to cite more than a few general works. The works of Greenhow and Schafer would ordinarily be inserted here, but, except for item 5 in this group, it seemed better, for the purposes of this article, to place them in section I. D. b., where they have been cited at numbers 4 and 11.

1. Coxe, William. *Account of the Russian discoveries between Asia and America*. London. 1780. Later editions appeared in the same year 1780, in 1787, and in 1803. The last is the best because it not only corrects the earlier editions but also enlarges upon them.
2. Willson, Beckles, i. e. Henry Beckles. *The great company: being a history of the honourable company of merchants-adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay*. Toronto. 1899.
3. Bryce, George. *The remarkable history of the Hudson's Bay Company*. London. 1900.
4. Manning, William Ray. *The Nootka Sound controversy* (American historical association, *Annual report* . . . for the year 1904, 279-478). Washington. 1905.

Doctor Manning's volume, a winner of the Justin Winsor prize of the American Historical Association, is deserving of special comment. It is a work of first-rate scholarship, and, furthermore, deals with one of the most vital moments in the history of the entire Pacific coast, California included. The Nootka affair, while primarily concerned with a dispute between Spain and England in the closing years of the eighteenth century, had an important bearing also on the territorial pretensions and eventual boundaries of Russia in America and the United States.

5. Schafer, Joseph. *A history of the Pacific northwest*. New York. 1905. Reprinted in 1906. Revised and enlarged edition in 1918. The last-named edition is the best.

For the general public this is the most useful single-volume history in this group. It embraces a larger field than the others, is the work of an able scholar, and is written in a simple and readable style. The author acknowledges indebtedness to Bancroft, but states that he made independent use of the sources, including many that were new. He does not include a bibliography or citations to authorities, however, since the volume was intended to be a popular general survey only.

6. Burpee, Lawrence Johnstone. *The search for the western sea; the story of the exploration of north-western America.* New York. 1908.
7. Laut, Agnes Christina. *The conquest of the great north-west; being the story of the adventurers of England known as the Hudson's Bay Company.* New York. 1911.
8. Golder, Frank Alfred. *Russian expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850.* Cleveland. 1914. The date 1850 is a typographical error for 1750.

Doctor Golder's work is the most scholarly volume in English on Russian activities in the Pacific. It is to be hoped that the author may continue his investigations, according to his original plan, and bring his account down to the disappearance of Russia from North America with the purchase of Alaska by the United States. No other man is so well equipped for the task as Doctor Golder.

9. Davidson, Gordon Charles. *The North West Company.* (University of California, *Publications in history.* v. VII.) Berkeley. 1918.

This is the most important monograph that has yet appeared on the general subject of English approaches to the Pacific coast by way of Canada. It is a work of sound scholarship.

(c). The American conquest of California, according to the narratives of eye-witnesses.

If all of the books on the westward expansion of the United States toward and into California were taken into consideration, their numbers would reach perhaps into the thousands. Indeed, the books about California by men who actually visited or lived there in the middle years of the nineteenth century are quite numerous. It will be sufficient to mention some of the outstanding works (not all of them) of the latter group which are representative of this class.

1. Forbes, Alexander. *California: a history of Upper and Lower California.* London. 1839.

Though labeled a "history," this work is more particularly interesting for the information it gives of Forbes' own time. Forbes was an Englishman who was desirous of seeing his countrymen acquire the Californias. He had never visited the province, but had been in correspondence and intimate relations with those who

had or who were actual residents there. Forbes himself was for many years a merchant of Tepic, Mexico, not far from the southern part of the land he described. He is often confused with his contemporary, James Alexander Forbes, the British vice-consul at Monterey. His work is interesting, also, as the first original volume in English concerning the Californias.

2. Dana, Richard Henry. *Two years before the mast*. New York. 1840. Later American editions seem to have been published (occasionally more than one in a single year) in 1842, 1847, 1857, 1869, 1873, 1880, 188-(?), 1884, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1912, 1914, while there were London editions of 1841 and 1914, and a Dutch edition of 1842.

The author, a youth of nineteen and member of a well-known New England family, shipped as a common sailor in 1834 on the merchant vessel *Pilgrim*, bound for California. This voyage, undertaken by him for the sake of his health, resulted in a visit of nearly a year and a half in California during 1835 and 1836. The book describes the entire voyage, as well as the stay in California. Unquestionably this has been the most popular work on California ever written. It depicted the life of the province with essential accuracy but also with such a romantic touch as to make the volume an English classic. It is especially valuable historically for its discussion of the hide trade. Dana revisited California in 1859, and some of the later editions include the narrative of his stay in the state at that time. In the course of his life the author of *Two years before the mast* became a distinguished publicist in other lines of literary endeavor as well.

3. Robinson, Alfred. *Life in California*. New York. 1846.

Robinson was a native of Massachusetts who came to California in 1829 when he was twenty-three years old, remaining in the province, engaged in trade, until 1842. He had exceptional opportunities for a knowledge of the years of his stay, for he traveled from port to port in connection with his business and married into the De la Guerra y Noriega family, one of the leading families of California. Robinson intended originally to publish a translation of a manuscript about the Indians, with an introduction. As an afterthought he expanded the proposed introduction

to be the principal part of the book. It is one of the most valuable works in existence for the life and history of the period of Robinson's stay. One learns, for example, that the civil wars of the period were not like incidents of comic opera (as some later writers have treated them) to those who were in their midst.

4. Cutts, James Madison. *The conquest of California and New Mexico* . . . 1846 & 1847. Philadelphia. 1847.

This is one out of a number of works dealing with military operations in California during the Mexican War.

5. Bryant, Edwin. *What I saw in California*. New York and Philadelphia. 1848. There were five more American editions, one English, and two French in 1848 and 1849, two Dutch editions in 1849 and 1850, and one Tasmanian edition of 1850. Two later New York editions of 188- (?) and 1885 had the title *Rocky Mountain adventures*.

Bryant, a native of Massachusetts, came to California with the United States military forces at the time of the Mexican War and acted as *alcalde* of San Francisco during part of 1847. The immense popularity of his book was due to its description of the journey across the plains and also to the outburst of interest in California as a result of news of the discovery of gold there in 1848.

6. Colton, Walter. *Three years in California*. New York and Cincinnati. 1850. Later editions of 1851 and 1860, the latter with the title *The land of gold*.

Colton came to California in 1846 as chaplain of the *Congress*, an American war-vessel. He was one of the founders of the first American newspaper in California (the *Californian*, established at Monterey in 1846), and was *alcalde* of Monterey from 1846 to 1848. In 1848 he paid a visit to the gold fields, and in 1849 he left for the east. His volume is possibly the most important of the original narratives for the vital period of transition from Mexican to American rule. He vividly described the life of the Spanish Californians, as well as the phases (such as the early days of the gold discovery) more directly relating to the American conquest.

7. Davis, William Heath. *Sixty years in California*. San Francisco. 1889.

Davis was the son of a Boston shipmaster, but was born in Honolulu in 1822. In 1831 he was taken to California, and ex-

cept for trading voyages to other parts remained there for the rest of his life, marrying into one of the aristocratic Spanish Californian families, that of the Estudillos. He was engaged in commerce, often as master of his own ship, with headquarters at San Francisco. Though his volume was written late in life Davis is said to have had an exceptionally retentive memory and to have had valuable records which he employed. It is to be noted that his book was published after some of the California histories in Bancroft's works, and it in fact does yield some important information which Bancroft lacked. Particularly is this true in matters having to do with shipping.

b. Important general histories of California and notable monographs.

It is intended to bring together in this group all of those works which would be the first resort of the scholar seeking information about California history. Many of them are also among the best and most interesting volumes for the general reader.

1. Palou, Francisco. *Noticias de la Nueva California*. 4 v. San Francisco. 1874. Published originally in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 4 ser., V-VII. Mexico. 1857.
2. Palou, Francisco. *Relación histórica de la vida y apostólicas tareas del venerable padre fray Junípero Serra*. México. 1787. There is a translation into English by C. Scott Williams, with an introduction and notes by George Wharton James, published at Pasadena in 1913.

Strictly speaking, the *Noticias* is not a history at all, but, rather, a source-book. It contains many letters and diaries *verbatim*, and these are joined together with comments of Palou to make a somewhat connected whole. The material was gathered by Palou with a view to providing the College of San Fernando (the Franciscan institution of Mexico City which directed the missionary labors of California) with needful information. It served also as the source-book upon which he relied in his *Vida*, or Biography, of Serra. For the historian the *Noticias* is now much the more valuable, but in an account of the literature of California history, the *Vida* must be accorded the major share of attention. This volume would not stand the test as a serious historical work today, but, nevertheless, it is considered and must always remain the most vitally important work on the early years of the Spanish occupa-

tion of California. It is virtually a history of the province from 1769 to 1784, told through the medium of the life of Father Serra, one of the most important actors in the events of those years. The author, like the hero of his book, was a native of Majorca. The two men became acquainted in boyhood days, and were ever afterward the closest of friends and associates. Both were in the same branch of the Franciscan order, and Palou was for about a third of a century under the direct rule of Serra. It was inevitable, therefore, that his volume should depict the achievements of his intimate life-long friend and superior in the most favorable light, if only through the emphasis of proportions, and this tendency may very well have been heightened by the fact that the book was written immediately after the death of Serra. Fitch asserts (compare item 8 in I. D. c.) that the volume was written with a view to the elevation of Father Serra to sainthood. The result has been the creation of what may be termed "the Serra legend," which consists in the exaltation of Serra above and almost to the exclusion of others, whether religious or military, in early California history, not by misstatements about him, but by a failure to give due mention to other deserving figures. This, however, is not chargeable to Palou, who after all was mainly concerned with the life of Serra, but is rather the fault of writers of later days, who have taken his volume as if it were a well-rounded out history of California, because little else that was easily available was known to them and because no other account existed in so compact a form and with such a wealth of detail. Now that a period of intensive research into early California history has begun, the error in perspective will eventually be corrected, and Palou's work will remain for just what it is,—the most valuable account ever published on early California history, though covering only a portion of that field. Reviewed in this light it may be stated that his volume not only abounds in indispensable information, but also is notable as a work of biography. It is well written and is based on documents as well as on the personal observations of the author. It is also the only historical work by a resident of California emanating from the pre-American periods in the history of the state.

3. Revilla Gigedo, Juan Vicente Güémez Pacheco de Padilla Horcasitas y Aguayo, *conde de. El virey* . . . reco-

*pila en este difuso informe los sucesos ocurridos en la península de Californias y departamento de S. Blas, desde el año de 1768, proponiendo lo que considera conveniente, in Bustamante, Carlos María de, Suplemento a la historia de los tres siglos de Mexico durante el gobierno español . . . por el padre Andrés Cavo (Mexico. 1836), III, 112-164. A translation into English under the title *Early California* appeared in *Land of sunshine* (Los Angeles. 1899), XI, 32-41, 105-112, 168-173, 225-233, 283-289.*

This was a long report by a great viceroy of New Spain, dated April 12, 1793, dealing with Spanish achievements in the Californias and the Department of San Blas since 1768. It was based primarily on government documents, and laid special emphasis on the great expense that these conquests had occasioned Spain. This work is not nearly so well known or so accessible as that of Palou, but it is second in importance only to that of Serra's biographer among the early published accounts about the history of California.

4. Greenhow, Robert. *The history of Oregon and California, and the other territories of the northwest coast of North America.* London. 1844. London and Boston. 1845. New York. 1845. Boston. 1847. Except for the omission of a map, the last edition is superior to the others. Furthermore, it was written after the dispute between England and the United States (which had given rise to the preparation of the earlier editions) had been settled.

Greenhow, as translator and librarian of the State Department of the United States, had been called upon several years earlier to prepare a memoir in support of the American contention in the dispute with England over the Oregon boundary. This report was published in 1840. Greenhow's *History* is an expansion of the earlier memoir. Despite the fact that it was virtually a brief for the United States government, it was remarkably free from prejudice,—so much so that it still remains an authoritative history on the field it covers. Later histories have superseded it in many respects, but by no means in all. The numerous editions in rapid succession attest its popularity, due primarily to public interest in the subject-matter in the days when "fifty-four forty or fight" was a campaign cry, but in part also to its excellent written style. Greenhow's volume looked principally toward the Oregon question.

wherefore it might have been placed in I. D. a. (b)., but it deals so fully with the Californias under Spain that it seemed better, for the purposes of this article, to take it up here.

5. Tuthill, Franklin. *The history of California*. San Francisco. 1856.

This is the first general history of California, written as such without ulterior motive, that was ever published. The author was a newspaper man, and it was at the suggestion of Hubert Howe Bancroft (whose publishing house brought out the volume) that it was written. It is in an annalistic but more or less readable style, covering the years 1500 to 1864. Tuthill made use of sources, but did not cite them in his account. While his volume is particularly interesting as a forerunner of the great Bancroft series, it contains occasional material not to be found elsewhere, though it displays the faults of lack of critical analysis and lack of a sense of proportion.

6. Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *Works*. 39 v. San Francisco. 1882-1891. The separate volumes, with dates of publication (including dates of reprinting in parentheses), are the following: I-V, *The native races* (published originally as a separate work, at New York, 1874-1876), 1882 (1883); VI-VIII, *History of Central America*, 1882-1887 (1886, for VI and VII); IX-XIV, *History of Mexico*, 1883-1887 (1888, for XIV); XV-XVI, *History of the north Mexican states and Texas*, 1884-1889 (1886, for XV; the title of XV in the 1884 edition omits *and Texas*, although it is numbered v. I with respect to the volume for 1889, or v. II, which includes the *and Texas*; v. XV for 1886 has a chapter on Texas which is lacking in the 1884 edition); XVII, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 1889; XVIII-XXIV, *History of California*, 1884-1890 (1886, for XIX and XX, brought out first in 1885); XXV, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*, 1890; XXVI, *History of Utah*, 1889; XXVII-XXVIII, *History of the northwest coast*, 1884; XXIX-XXX, *History of Oregon*, 1886-1888; XXXI, *History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana*, 1890; XXXII, *History of British Columbia*, 1887; XXXIII, *History of Alaska*, 1886; XXXIV, *California pastoral*, 1888; XXXV, *California inter pocula*, 1888; XXXVI-XXXVII, *Popular tribunals*, 1887; XXXVIII, *Essays and miscellany*, 1890; XXXIX, *Literary industries*, 1890. It is to be noted that the year 1886 occurs as the date when many

of the earlier volumes were reissued. These should be considered as new editions, for enough changes were made to throw out the original pagination,—which accounts for the difficulty many have found in locating citations to Bancroft and accounts also for the fact that the index does not always correspond to the pages, since it was left unchanged. The matter of editions is further complicated by the fact that a separate set of thirty-four volumes was issued under the title *History of the Pacific states of North America*. In this set the five volumes of *Native races* were omitted. There were also separate volumes entitled *North Mexican states and Texas*, instead of the two volume work given above at numbers XV and XVI. The words *History of* do not appear in the titles of the *Pacific states* volumes, and the dates vary between those of the two sets of *Works*, except that the date of *North Mexican states* is 1883, earlier than either.

Bancroft organized the task of writing this monumental work with a wise forethought and thoroughness that few if any historians have displayed, before or since. With the advantage of ample means, he was able to form "the History Company," employing a host of collectors, investigators, and writers. Bancroft has several times been "exposed" for having signed his name to volumes which he personally did not write, but he never pretended to have done so, and his *Literary industries*, published in 1890, pointed out clearly just how the great project was undertaken and brought to completion. Nevertheless, his was the directing hand, and all of the volumes show the stamp of his personality; though this was in a sense a coöperative work, Bancroft is fairly entitled to the honors of authorship, and those who consented to hide their identity under his name must accept the consequences of oblivion. Bancroft gathered a collection of historical materials about the far western states that their more cultivated brethren of even the so-called thirteen original colonies and states could not surpass or perhaps equal. Libraries, archives, and private homes were ransacked, and their materials copied, bought, or "borrowed." Whatever Bancroft's methods of collection (and they have been adversely criticized), the value for historical purposes of a single great set of printed and manuscript sources is unquestionable. As histories in the highest sense of the word, his volumes are open to criticism. They are perhaps more a compilation of materials, or a source-book, than a history. The materials are chopped up accord-

ing to the region they represent, and put together chronologically. Thus, for a single important voyage from Panama to Alaska, one would have to look successively through the volumes on Central America, Mexico, the north Mexican states, California, the northwest coast (or Oregon after 1834, Washington after 1845, and British Columbia after 1792), and Alaska. Furthermore, errors in detail reach perhaps into the thousands, for it was impossible for one man or group of men to digest the unlimited quantity of facts which were assembled; it is a simple matter for the most ordinary scholar to correct mistakes in Bancroft. For these reasons many writers have shown a disposition to attack the value of these volumes. Nevertheless, it is perhaps not too much to say that Bancroft's works constitute the greatest single achievement in the history of American historiography. Though Bancroft is far from being the greatest *historian* this country has produced, he has rendered a greater service than any of the men who deservedly rank ahead of him as historical writers. His volumes have proved to be an indispensable preliminary for scores of books published since, within the field he covered, and all historians, even those who criticize him most, have found that, wherever they go, Bancroft has been there (though perhaps inadequately) before them. On this account his works serve as an essential bibliography, not so much through the long and badly-constructed lists of authorities, but rather through the frequent and ample footnotes, into which every conceivable authority, good, bad, or indifferent, is crowded. As concerns California history there can be no doubt that Bancroft has decided the form it has taken; nearly all of the histories of later date have been little more than summaries and selections from Bancroft, tinged and shaded by the writer's own predisposition with regard to the facts. The history of California is represented directly by the volumes numbered XVIII-XXIV and XXXIV-XXXVII in the above list, and figures prominently in I-V, XXXVIII, and XXXIX. Furthermore, no well-rounded out history of California can omit material contained in many other volumes, notably XV-XVII and XXVII-XXVIII. Yet, as will be pointed out in section II, Bancroft did not by any means obtain all the desirable material for a history of California, nor was that which he possessed "used . . . well-nigh to exhaustion," as a recent writer (who certainly did not test his assertion) has maintained.

7. Shinn, Charles Howard. *Mining camps: a study of American frontier government*. New York. 1885.

From the standpoint of its special subject this deals primarily with California, following the discovery of gold in 1848. The volume contains an ample bibliography and occasional citations to authorities in footnotes, and is written in a most entertaining style. The author tends to idealize the '49ers, with many of whom he was personally acquainted. His work is a real contribution to history, however, for he presented the valuable evidence of his own personal interviews with pioneers and of private correspondence which would not otherwise have been utilized. It is a safer guide to the period than the volume (number 9 below) by Josiah Royce.

8. Hittell, Theodore Henry. *History of California*. San Francisco. 1885[I and II]-1897 [III and IV]. 2 ed. 4 v. in 8. San Francisco. 1898.

This history is second in importance only to that of Bancroft, and is indeed much more adapted to the needs of the general reader than the Bancroft volumes because of its readable style. The work of Hittell is not only interesting, but is also scholarly, depending upon original sources, which are cited in the footnotes. It was prepared independently of Bancroft's works and even of the Bancroft Collection, though it was inevitable that Hittell should use much the same sources as Bancroft, though (since he relied upon his own efforts in the preparation of his *History*) he employed fewer of them. While Hittell's treatment is not unlike that of Bancroft in its main outlines, his volumes add considerable not otherwise readily accessible to the student or general reader. He should not be confused with John Shirtzer Hittell, author of a number of descriptive works about California and of *A history of the city of San Francisco, and incidentally of the state of California*, published at San Francisco in 1878.

9. Royce, Josiah. *California, from the conquest in 1846 to the second Vigilance committee in San Francisco; a study of American character*. (American commonwealths series.) Boston and New York. 1886.

This is clearly one of the leading volumes in the literature of California history, but it is not free from grave defects. The

author, who later became recognized as one of the most distinguished philosophers and moralists this country has produced, was already in the Department of Philosophy at Harvard University. The principal fault of the volume comes from the fact that he wrote as a philosopher and moralist rather than as a historian. Events in California from 1846 to 1856 (the period covered by the book) are treated as illustrating salient traits of American character, as seen through somewhat puritanical glasses. The result is not flattering to Americans and particularly not to Californians. Royce goes to the opposite extreme from Shinn, and depicts the men of the Bear Flag revolt and the miners of '49 as of a rather undesirable type, neglecting to emphasize the extenuating circumstances which might have permitted of a more favorable interpretation. It would seem, too, that Royce selected materials from the standpoint of a previously determined thesis, and made sweeping generalizations from these inadequate sources, instead of drawing conclusions from an extended survey of the available literature. Objection may also be made to the scope of the work. Given the series in which it appeared, the cover-title "California," and the large capitals in which that word alone appears on the title-page, one might have expected something more than a history of ten years. The almost inevitable impression follows that the main facts of California history are contained in the period actually treated. But, separating Royce's volume from its philosophy and lack of historical method, an interesting piece of historical criticism remains. It is especially to be commended from the standpoint of synthesis, for it is a well organized and readable volume.

10. Blackmar, Frank Wilson. *Spanish institutions of the southwest*. (Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in history and political science*. Extra v. X.) Baltimore. 1891.

This is a volume by a competent scholar, who has chosen to present his subject mainly through the light of California materials, though other regions from California to Texas do not lack consideration as well. While it is based on printed works which had already been used by Bancroft, it represents a contribution to the field of history and is an especially useful hand-book for those who would get a well-rounded preliminary survey of the social, political, and economic institutions of a frontier province in

Spain's American empire. The volume is equipped with all the apparatus of scholarship. Furthermore, it is interesting. Undoubtedly, it deserves to rank high in the historical literature of California.

11. Schafer, Joseph. *The Pacific slope and Alaska*. (History of North America series. v. X.) Philadelphia. [1905.]

The author of this work had already established a reputation as a sound historical scholar who had devoted his principal efforts to the field covered in this volume. Owing to the limitation imposed by the editor of the series it lacks a bibliography, citations, and an index, but it is, nevertheless, an important historical work because of the authority of the writer. While it deals principally with the lands to the north of California, and might appropriately be included in I. D. a. (b)., it has been placed here because more than a third of the book treats directly of California, and much of the rest has at least an indirect bearing on the history of the Golden State. In fine, it provides a good compact general survey of the history of the Pacific states of the American union.

12. Engelhardt, Charles Anthony, *in religion* Zephyrin. *The missions and missionaries of California*. 4 v., with 2 more to follow. San Francisco. 1908 [I, 1908; II, 1912; III, 1913; IV, 1915]—. A separate, with the same title, issued at San Francisco in 1916, contains an index to volumes II-IV.

This great work was foreshadowed by the author's publication in 1897 and 1899 (Harbor Springs, Michigan) of single volumes entitled *The Franciscans in California* and *The Franciscans in Arizona*. The present work gives a detailed history of Spanish and Mexican California from the standpoint of Catholic missionary endeavor. Very little that Father Engelhardt has been able to find on this subject has been omitted from his account. Thus, the first volume, which deals with Baja California, has drained the pertinent facts in the *Noticia* of Burriel, and the immediately succeeding volumes have made equally liberal use of the *Vida* and *Noticias* of Palou. Nevertheless, other sources have been used, including rich stores of manuscript material, much of which had been previously utilized by Bancroft (though not to the extent that Father Engelhardt has employed it), while other portions had never come under the eye of "the History Company." Ample foot-

notes and citations appear in the volumes thus far published. The author, who is a Franciscan friar of Santa Barbara, California, is somewhat subjective in his methods and style, and allows his partisanship for his religion and his subject to appear much too clearly. The volumes are also open to criticism in some technical respects, as witness the citations to Santa Barbara archives, without a clear indication that that file in the Bancroft Library is meant, which is all the more misleading in view of the common report that a great archive of materials about the missionaries is being gathered at Santa Barbara. Nevertheless, this account, if naturally it has relied upon those materials which bear directly on the principal theme to the exclusion of others, is a thoroughly honest and valuable contribution to the literature of California history. Like Bancroft's works, it is to be considered rather as a great chronological source-book, designedly so, than as a compact and unified historical work.

13. Richman, Irving Berdine. *California under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847*. Boston and New York. 1911.

This volume occupies a unique place in the literature of California history. The author, who had published creditable works in totally different fields (such as a history of Rhode Island, a work on John Brown among the Quakers, and another concerning Switzerland), seems to have cast about for new worlds to conquer, and hit upon California. His book, which is in many respects one of the best single-volume histories of California, is open to severe criticism, however, because of the false impression it conveys. It is stated on the title-page that the volume is "based on original sources (chiefly manuscript) in the Spanish and Mexican archives and other repositories," and the further remarks in the preface, together with the elaborate citations in footnotes and lists of sources, would lead one to believe that this was the case. The student of California history cannot fail to conclude, however, that the footnotes are largely supplements or after-thoughts. With few exceptions the body of the text seems to represent little more than a summary of Bancroft. In view of the fact that the author was unfamiliar with the field of Spanish American and California history and unable to read Spanish, it could hardly be otherwise in the short time he devoted to this volume. Such uses of manuscript material as Richman actually made (through the services of a

translator) were often inadequate or mistaken, and his grasp of the subject as a whole was deficient. Nevertheless, the extensive bibliographical appendix of his book makes it deserving of inclusion in the present group. It may be added, though Richman nowhere states it, that Professor Bolton provided nearly all of the materials for this appendix.

14. Eldredge, Zoeth Skinner. *The beginnings of San Francisco from the expedition of Anza, 1774, to the city charter of April 15, 1850.* 2 v. San Francisco. 1912.

These volumes might more properly have been entitled *A history of Spanish and Mexican California, with opening and concluding chapters on the history of San Francisco, 1774-1850*. Such a name would indeed be cumbersome, but it would represent the actual content of these books. The first six chapters contain a detailed account of the Anza expeditions (which resulted in the founding of San Francisco), based on manuscript materials which previous writers had not used. As already indicated, the body of the work (seven chapters in 340 pages out of a total of 623 of text) is a history of California, to which are appended four chapters (in 128 pages) on the local history of San Francisco. These portions of the work belong in the category of a Bancroftian summary, though the author seems to have reached what was virtually the same result by an independent use of materials, to which citations are made. Mr. Eldredge's contributions in this and the *History of California* (cited below at number 18) entitle him to rank perhaps next to Bancroft and Hittell in the list of the great historians of California. Coming to this field as a result of his enthusiastic interest in the subject, though without special training, he, nevertheless, proved himself to be a sound historian. His works are particularly meritorious for their simple but entertaining style.

15. Goodwin, Cardinal Leonidas. *The establishment of state government in California, 1846-1850.* New York. 1914.

The publication of this volume marks an epoch in the history of California historiography. It is the first work to deal with California by a member of the new and rising school of American historians of the far west. This school aims to present western history from a new standpoint, not only by the use of new materials,

but also by removing it from its purely local perspective through relating it to events with which in fact it had a connection that were happening in the world outside. Doctor Goodwin has covered the subject that he set for himself in a thorough-going and sound manner, with all the paraphernalia of scholarship (save for the omission of a formal bibliography) to enable later students to get the full advantage of his results.

16. Sanchez, Nellie van de Grift. *Spanish and Indian place names of California, their meaning and their romance*. San Francisco. 1914.

This is a study of a special field by a competent student of Indian and especially of Spanish American lore. The book is an eminently satisfactory and scholarly piece of work.

17. Cleland, Robert Glass. *The early sentiment for the annexation of California: an account of the growth of American interest in California from 1835 to 1846*. (*Southwestern historical quarterly*, XVIII, nos. 1-3.) Austin, Texas. 1915.

Though never issued as a single volume this has made its appearance in bound form on the shelves of a number of libraries, and is so important that it demands consideration. Doctor Cleland is the first writer to treat the period with which he dealt from the standpoint of its larger relations to the history of the United States as a whole. Not only is his work sound and scholarly, but it is also noteworthy evidence of the fact that it is possible to write a well-documented monograph in a way that is readable.

18. *History of California* [by Clinton A. Snowden and others] ed. by Zoeth Skinner Eldredge. 5 v. New York. 1915.

This is the third of the great general histories of California, and is deserving of inclusion in the select group occupied previously by Bancroft and Hittell alone. The volumes are popularly believed to have been the work principally of Mr. Eldredge, but it is stated in the introduction that the first three and a half volumes were written by Mr. Snowden under the supervision of Mr. Eldredge, and half of the fourth alone was contributed directly by Mr. Eldredge. The fifth volume is made up of special articles by different writers on California as it is today. The work repre-

sents a full account of California history along traditional lines, told in an interesting way. Few citations to authorities are made, but the volumes bear evidences of the ripe acquaintance of the editor with the many works already in print. For the purposes of the general public this history of California will rival Hittell's.

19. Chapman, Charles Edward. *The founding of Spanish California, 1687-1783*. New York. 1916.

This is a monograph, based on hundreds of hitherto unused materials from the Archivo General de Indias, of Seville, Spain. It provides a new interpretation of the Spanish period of California history, treating it from the larger sphere of American history rather than as a local record, especially as concerns the struggle of Spain and the other nations for frontage on the Pacific coast.

20. Putnam, Ruth, with the collaboration of Herbert Ingram Priestley. *California: the name*. (University of California, *Publications in history*, v. IV, no. 4.) Berkeley, California. 1917.

This is a most interesting, though brief, account of the origin and application of the name "California." It is to be regretted that the position is taken that the name may have been applied in derision, a view that has been ably refuted by Mrs. Sanchez, but otherwise this pleasant little work leaves nothing to be desired.

c. Historical works, of a somewhat popular character, on special subjects.

The works which follow are only a few of those which might, with perhaps equal right, be included in this group.

1. McGlashan, Charles Fayette. *History of the Donner party. A Tragedy of the Sierras*. Truckee, California. 1879. Frequently reissued, reaching its eleventh edition in 1918.

The story of the Donner party, perhaps because it was symbolic of the trials endured by the pioneers who crossed the plains, has for many years aroused intense interest in California. It is California's Iliad and Odyssey all in one. The popularity of the story is in large measure due to the fascinating, if somewhat harrowing, account by Judge McGlashan, a resident of Truckee, near which place the disasters of the Donner party achieved their climax.

2. North, Arthur Walbridge. *The mother of California; being an historical sketch of the little known land of Baja California, from the days of Cortez to the present time.* San Francisco and New York. [1908.]

Californians should not forget that the present-day state is only a portion of the old "Californias," which began at Cape San Lucas at the lower end of Baja California. This volume is a pertinent reminder of that fact. It contains an index and a useful bibliography. About a third of its space is devoted to contemporary aspects of conditions in the peninsula.

3. Houghton, Eliza P (Donner). *The expedition of the Donner party and its tragic fate.* Chicago. 1911.

This is a carefully written volume, by a survivor of the expedition. It has not been able to compete in popularity, however, with its predecessor in the field (item 1, *supra*).

4. Kennedy, Elijah Robinson. *The contest for California in 1861; how Colonel E. D. Baker saved the Pacific states to the Union.* Boston and New York. 1912.

This tells of the contest between Union and Confederate interests in California at the outbreak of the Civil War. It is almost wholly concerned with the acts of Colonel Baker. The volume contains a bibliography, citations to authorities, and an ample index.

5. Elder, David Paul. *The old Spanish missions of California: an historical and descriptive sketch.* San Francisco. 1913.

This volume is included in this list because of the illustrations, which are excellent.

6. Davis, John Francis. *California romantic and resourceful: a plea for the collection preservation and diffusion of information relating to Pacific coast history.* San Francisco. 1914.

The author of this little volume, a lawyer of San Francisco, is widely known as an enthusiast over California history who has many times written articles and delivered addresses on the subject which are both interesting and informing. The work mentioned above was designed primarily as a *plea*, as stated in the sub-

title, but the text is almost wholly a survey of California history, with particular reference to the missions and to the strange manner of California's entrance into the Union. The latter incident has never been so well presented by any other writer on California history.

7. Dellenbaugh, Frederick Samuel. *Frémont and '49: the story of a remarkable career and its relation to the exploration and development of our western territory, especially of California*. New York and London. 1914.

This is a work by a competent writer on far western history who, however, has rarely touched directly on California. *Frémont and '49* is primarily a biography of Frémont, and only in part concerns California. That part, however, is vital to the work, and bears upon the controversy as to the bearing of the Bear Flag uprising and other events with which Frémont was associated upon the acquisition of California. Dellenbaugh reverts, though in a self-contained manner, to the old idea as to their importance. He also holds that Frémont's activities as a whole made it certain that "no foreign nation," presumably England, "could have stepped in without direct antagonism to the United States"; in other words, Frémont is treated as having much to do with saving California and the Pacific coast for the United States. The volume is certainly both interesting and useful.

8. Fitch, Abigail Hetzel. *Junípero Serra: the man and his work*. Chicago. 1914.

Though the amount of published material on Father Serra is almost incalculably great, this is the only work devoted exclusively to his life (other than the translation of Palou's *Vida*) that has appeared in English. "There can be little doubt," writes the author, "that the admiration and love Palou entertained for Junípero induced him to chronicle his life with the sole view of procuring for him recognition in the church as one of her saints." Yet the volume is frankly based on the *Vida* and *Noticias*, though several other works are also used. Compare items 1 and 2 in I. D. b.

- d. Popular general histories of California in one volume.

All of these volumes make little or no pretense of investigation, and all are along traditional lines in the story they tell. Furthermore, all are bristling with errors in fact and in perspective.

Nevertheless, they are the medium through which the average reader derives his knowledge of California history, and, consequently, have a very real importance.

1. McGroarty, John Steven. *California: its history and romance*. Los Angeles. 1911.

This volume, the work of a well-known journalist, has a certain historiographical importance. It was the first volume of its kind and was exceedingly interesting, wherefore it was widely read. It therefore tended to fix the traditional view concerning California history.

2. Norton, Henry Kittredge. *The story of California*. Chicago. 1913.

This volume is fully as entertaining as its predecessor, and is, on the whole, more accurate. It is possibly the best work in this group.

3. Atherton, Gertrude Franklin. *California: an intimate history*. New York and London. 1914.

It must be said for the distinguished novelist who wrote this volume that she does not pretend to be a historian. One may therefore plunge amiably into the book, which would seem to be "intimate" in that it represents the author's personal preferences. Thus the Indians and indeed the whole Spanish and Mexican periods are dismissed with a brief and unsympathetic treatment. The American period is taken up with enthusiasm, but it soon appears that the history of San Francisco, Mrs. Atherton's native city, contains about all that is interesting in the history of the state. The book is fascinating, and in some respects the most to be recommended in this group, precisely because nobody is likely to forget that Mrs. Atherton is a novelist, wherefore her volume may prove to be the least dangerous of the lot. Nevertheless, within the limits of her choice, the author has honestly depicted events as they are traditionally supposed to have occurred.

4. Tinkham, George Henry. *California: men and events*. [Stockton. 1915.]

The author of this volume had previously produced creditable works on the local history of Stockton and the San Joaquin valley.

His general history is like the others in this group in being readable, but is otherwise somewhat different. It is well named, for it deals, without any apparent unity as a whole, with different men and events. These are introduced into the tale, not because of any essential importance they had, but because they are interesting in themselves. In a way, however, the book represents a contribution, for the author scoured the files of old newspapers. It does not seem that any critical use was made of them, wherefore his narrative tends to have a certain Sunday-supplement character. At times, too, it is quite representative of the contemporary views of Mr. Tinkham on great public issues and matters in general.

e. Historical works on other subjects, but containing abundant material on California history.

Every general history of the United States and many on special fields only partly inclusive of California will have scattered materials or perhaps whole chapters dealing with California. Coman, Katherine, *Economic beginnings of the far west* (2 v. New York. 1912) may be cited as one of the leading examples of this class. The general public will hardly care to seek these volumes to cull out the California history they contain, however, and the scholar will have no difficulty in finding them.

f. Works which are descriptive, rather than historical, but which are of value for the general public.

The last word in historical writing is the popular volume. The majority of those who attempt to write such works, including the majority of those who succeed, are lacking in the information which should entitle them to appear as spokesmen in the field. These writers are legion in California. There is at least one such writer, however, who has a sound understanding of California historical literature as a background for his own lectures and multitudinous popular writings. This is George Wharton James. *In and out of the old missions of California* (Boston. 1916) is one of the best representatives of his historical and descriptive writings about California.

II. *Manuscripts*

The manuscript materials for the writing of California history have little more than begun to be collected. Those mentioned be-

low are intended only as an indication of some of the widely known groups of documentary sources.

A. Guides to manuscript materials.

1. Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *Guide to materials for the history of the United States in the principal archives of Mexico.* (Carnegie Institution of Washington. Publication no. 163. Papers of the Department of historical research.) Washington. 1913.

While this work is of interest to students of United States history as a whole, it contains references to such enormous stores of California materials that it cannot be omitted here. Professor Bolton combed the archives of Mexico City and other parts of the Mexican republic, and neglected no opportunity to include large collections of manuscripts about California in his report. In all, 284 bundles of the manuscripts cited in the *Guide* deal wholly or largely with the Californias. The description is general for large groups of materials, rather than detailed, item by item.

2. Chapman, Charles Edward. *Catalogue of materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the history of the Pacific coast and the American southwest.* (University of California, *Publications in history*, v. VIII.) Berkeley. 1919.

This contains over 6000 items of manuscript material, representing about 25,000 separate documents, arranged chronologically, and described both as to technical characteristics and as to content. About two-thirds of the materials bear upon the Californias.

3. Coy, Owen Cochran. *Guide to the county archives of California.* California historical survey commission, *Publications*, v. I.) Sacramento. 1919.

This volume deals with each of the fifty-nine counties of California (including Klamath County, which no longer exists). A brief historical and descriptive account of each archive is given, followed by an itemized list, not of separate documents, but of great sub-groups within the larger groupings of the county records. Special features of this *Guide* are the maps of counties, recording the almost innumerable changes in boundaries, and the valuable introductory matter about archive science in general and the

duties, historically considered, of California record officers in particular.

B. The Bancroft Library.

The Bancroft Library, otherwise Academy of Pacific Coast History, must be accorded principal notice in any discussion of the manuscript materials for the study of California history; all earnest investigators are sure to appear there at some stage in their researches. The manuscript wealth of this famed repository is built around the Bancroft Collection of Hubert Howe Bancroft, acquired in its entirety by the University of California in 1906. It must again be insisted upon, that neither the printed works nor the manuscript sources employed by Bancroft were nearly "used up" by him in the compilation of his thirty-nine volumes. Furthermore, a vast stock of materials has since been added. Particularly is this true of the transcripts made of documents in foreign archives. The Bancroft Library has proved to be of unique importance in the development of a new school of American history in which events in California play a more prominent part than in the interpretation of other historians. The credit belongs in origin to Professor H. Morse Stephens, head of the Department of History at the University of California. Realizing the importance of the Bancroft Collection for the upbuilding of his own department and the establishment of a new basis for American history, he bent every effort to prevail upon the university authorities to make the purchase, with eventual success. Possessing, now, materials to work with, he was under the necessity of finding students and research professors to use them. The most notable step toward the attainment of the former was the creation of the Native Sons of the Golden West Fellowships in History (discussed in D below), granted for the first time in 1910, at the suggestion of Professor Stephens. Professor Stephens was able in the following year to induce Professor Herbert E. Bolton to become a member of the University of California Department of History. This scholar had already gained a national reputation for his work in the far western and Hispanic American field, and was ideally equipped by training and temperament to take charge of graduate work in history. As a professor of history and Curator of the Bancroft Library he has made the University of Cali-

fornia widely known as one of the leading historical plants in the country.

C. Public archives in California.

The usual state, county, and municipal archives exist in California as elsewhere. Steps have recently been taken to make their vast resources more readily available for students and the general public. In 1915, following representations made by members of the Native Sons of the Golden West, the state legislature created the California Historical Survey Commission. The Honorable John F. Davis, Professor Herbert E. Bolton, and Mr. James M. Guinn were appointed as the members of this commission, and Mr. Owen C. Coy was made secretary and active director of the work. The most important achievement of the commission thus far is the preparation of the *Guide* referred to at II. A. 3. In addition, it has organized a search for materials in private hands concerning the California pioneers, taken charge of the accumulation of data about California's part in the Great War, and performed sundry other tasks in line with the preservation of historical records.

D. Archives beyond the state.

It is becoming increasingly clear that California historians must seek materials beyond the boundaries of the state, if they are to place the history of California in its proper perspective in general American and world history. Indeed, much local California material will also be found in other than California archives. Perhaps the greatest repositories outside the state of interest to students of California history are the national archives in the Library of Congress at Washington and various archives in Mexico and Spain. No very thorough survey has yet been made of the materials at Washington, but those in Mexico and Spain have been in great part revealed. The information about the archives of Mexico is provided by Bolton's *Guide*, cited above, at II. A. 1. As concerns the archives of Spain, especially the great Archivo General de Indias at Seville, the information has come principally through the reports of the Native Sons' Fellows. Professor Stephens made a preliminary survey in 1910 which convinced him that more prolonged researches would yield splendid returns. This

estimate has been justified by the quantities of hitherto unused material found by the Native Sons' Fellows. The information provided by the *Catalogue* mentioned above at II. A. 2. is only a small part of the valuable data unearthed by the Fellows who have gone to Spain. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the Native Sons' Fellowships have been the keystone about which the edifice of recent historical productivity in California has been reared. For the good of California it is to be hoped that the opportunities they have afforded may be yet further expanded in the future.

MINUTES OF THE AYUNTAMIENTO OF SAN FELIPE
DE AUSTIN, 1828-1832

VI

EDITED BY EUGENE C. BARKER

LIST of Copies of documents archived which copies were drawn by said Fisher and Certified by him as secy pro tem of the Ayunto. as well official letters and decrees as other papers, all of which he done secretly and without the knowledge of the Alcalde or Ayuntamiento and without doubt for the purpose of creating confusion and excitement

- 19 Nineteen copies of official letters directed by the Alcalde to the Chief of Department and other authorities.
- 21 Twenty one copies of official letters directed to the Alcalde and Ayunto. by the Chief of Department and other functionaries
- 6 Six copies of the memorandums of correspondence received by the Alcalde from the Chief of Department.
- 4 four copies of the acts of the Ayuntamiento.
- 2 two copies of decrees of the Legislature One of No 128 and one of No. 62.
- 2 two copies one of the notice of the Empresario Austin of 20th nov 29 and the other the regulation of the Commissioner genl Juan Anto. Padilla respecting surveying

The meeting [p. 49] adjourned until the 18th day of the present month

Thos. Barnett

Samuel M. Williams

Secy pro tem

In the town of San Felipe de Austin on the 18th of October 1830. The members of the Ayunto. met this day pursuant to a request of the prest. present Thomas Barnett prest. Jesse H. Cartwright 2d regidor Walter C. White 3d Regidor and William Pettus Sindico procurador. The president required the secretary pro tem to read over the act of the 16th instant inasmuch as the

2d Regidor was not present at that time which met the unanimous approbation of the body as Mr. Cartwright confirmed all that had been done in that day in the affair relative to George Fisher the former Secy protem and the whole was confirmed as recorded and ordered to be published for the informatinn of the inhabitants of the municipality; and also it was ordered that authorised copies of the acts of 5th and 16th insts. should be made out and transmitted to the Chief of the Department, and to the Commandant Genl Dn. Manuel de Mier y Teran, for the purpose of showing those functionaries the causes of the removal of George Fisher and his subsequent conduct. The Ayunto. adjourned and agreed to meet on the 23d of the present month. An election of militia officers was ordered for the portion of a company on the Colorado and Labaca above the Atascosito to be held at Robinsons and presided by Wm. Pettus Sindico Procurador on Saturday the 13th of Nov next.

Thos. Barnett

Samuel M. Williams

Secy pro tem

[p. 50] In the Town of San Felipe de Austin on the 23d day of October 1830. The Ayuntamto. in session this day pursuant to the adjournment of the extraordinary session of the 18th of this month. The proceedings of the last meeting as recorded were read over and approved. A petition was presented by William H. Jack in behalf of Seth Ingram and Hosea H. League which was read and ordered to be filed for the purpose of giving the subject matter of the prayer a full and mature deliberation, in order that the members may be enabled at the next regular meeting [to] decide upon its merits.³⁷ The prest. then represented to

³⁷See page 188, note 30, and below, November 2. A letter from Austin to Ramon Musquiz (Austin Papers, miscellaneous, November 30, 1830, in file of June, 1830) gives some facts concerning this case which became a *cause celebre*. John G. Holtham while drunk wandered into Ira Ingram's yard and was ejected by him. Later he challenged Ingram to a duel and Ingram refused to fight him, whereupon Holtham posted notices on the court house door (the alcalde's office) and elsewhere denouncing Ingram as a coward, a rascal, and a man without honor. He encountered Seth Ingram, Ira's brother, just after posting one of these documents, and the latter ordered him to remove it. He refused, and Ingram killed him. League was in some way, which Austin does not explain, an accomplice. Ingram was a man of excellent character, and League

the body that the expense of guarding and securing the persons of the two prisoners now in confinement has become so considerable as to render it necessary that a different mode of guarding them should be adopted. The body then discussed the subject and it was agreed upon that inasmuch as the 25th Article of the Militia Law of the State provides that the Militia men shall perform the service and duty of guards etc. upon occasions like the present, and of different natures, An official letter shall be addressed to the Colonel Commandant of the Batallion requiring him to furnish the necessary and competent number of Militia to perform the duties of guard for the security of the prisoners now in confinement, either by classing the whole Militia or by classing the companies in turn or in such manner as the Col Commandant may deem the least burthensome, to secure and effect the objects desired and the body adjourned

[p. 51] Thos. Barnett

Samuel M Williams

Secy pro tem

In the town of San Felipe de Austin on the 1st Novembr 1830 The Ayuntamiento. of the municipality met in regular session present Thomas Barnett prest. Jesse H. Cartwright 2d Regidor, Walter C. White 3d Regidor and William Pettus Sindico procurador. The session was opened by reading the act of the extraordinary session of the 23d of october last past the proceedings of which were confirmed. A [l]etter was presented to the body from the Empresario Austin, in which the said Empresario requests the Ayuntamiento. to call on the executive Govt of the state thro the Chief of Department to appoint a commissioner, who shall in conformity with the colonization law and the contracts of said Empresario issue titles of possession to the Settlers for the lands which in virtue of said law and contracts they are to receive. The subject being fully discussed by the members, it was unanimously agreed upon, that, inasmuch as it is well known to [p. 52] the

was, as we have seen, a member of the ayuntamiento, while Holtham was, Austin says, a vagabond. League, however, was extremely unpopular, and this, combined with the complexity of criminal judicial procedure, delayed the trial of the defendants for several years, during most of which time they were kept under guard without bail. For judicial procedure, see THE QUARTERLY, XXI, 250.

body that there are a great number of families now within the Municipality that have been admitted by the said Empresario as colonists under his contracts and who have not yet for the want of a commissioner been put in legal possession of the lands they occupy and inasmuch as great anxiety is expressed by the settlers for the appointment of a commissioner to permanently and legally to establish them, the Ayuntamiento. orders that an official letter be addressed to the Chief of this Department urging in strong terms the immediate appointment of a commissioner to put in legal possession of their lands those settlers under the contracts of the Empresario Austin who are now here and have not recd their titles of possession.

The report of James Kerr and Jno. H. Scott commissioners for surveying and examining a road from the Labaca to the Colorado at the place known as Jennings's Crossing was read, approved of and ordered to be filed.

The Ayuntamiento. on account of a petition from a number of the inhabitants of the precinct of Sanjacinto appointed Henry K. Lewis, Amos Edwards, and George M. Patrick Commissioners to survey and report the best and most direct rout for a road from the town of Harrisburg to Ritor's point at the mouth of the San Jacinto said report to be presented to the body at the regular meeting of the 6th Decemr next.

The ayunto. then agreed that inasmuch as the commissioners who were appointed at the meeting of the 1st Feby last to survey and report the most suitable and direct rout for a road from this town, to Marion [p. 53] have not yet made their report, that George Tennell, Josiah H. Bell, George Huff, Jesse Thompson and Joseph Kuykendall be appointed commissioners to survey and report said rout and further ordered that a majority of the five now appointed shall be sufficient to make the report. which report must be made at the next regular meeting of the Ayto. 6th Decemr next.

The Ayuntamiento. then appointed Samuel Chance, Thomas J. Tone, Joseph Mims, Caleb R. Bostic and Moses Morrison as commissioners to review and report the best and most practicable rout for a road from the Colorado at Jennings's Crossing to Brazoria. which report must be presented at the next regular meeting of the 6th Decemr next.

The Ayuntamiento. then discussed the subject of dividing the precinct of Bastrop, and ordered that inasmuch as the population of that district has very considerably increased, and much inconvenience experienced by the inhabitants in being obliged to cross from the one to the other side of the Brazos River to attend to their judicial affairs, that the said precinct be divided in the following manner to wit. begining at the crossing of the Cushatte road on the East or left bank of the Brazos, thence in a direct line to the Atascosito road at a point on said road which shall be four leagues from the Brazos river, thence along said road to the divide between the San Jacinto and Trinity rivers, thence following said divide northwardly to the San Antonio Road, thence along said road to the Brazos River, thence following the meanders of sd River down to the place of beginning; the territory comprised within said boundaries shall be called the precinct of VIESCA.

The precinct of Bastrop shall be comprised [p. 54] within the following described limits beginning on the West side of the Brazos River at the point where the Cushatte Road crosses, thence in a direct line to the divide between Caney Creek and Mill creek, thence up said divide to the Labahia road, thence along said road to the river Colorado crossing the Colorado and following sd road two leagues distant from the River thence up preserving the sd distance of two leagues from the River to the San Antonio Road. thence along said road to the brazos River, thence down the Brazos River following its meanders to the place of begining

The Ayuntamiento after discussing the subject ordered that the line of the present precinct of Victoria be altered as follows: from Newmans camp on the Bernard the line shall run to the head of Big Creek in a direct line from said Camp, thence down Big Creek, with its meanders to its mouth, in the Brazos, up the Brazos River to the lower line of Wm. Mortons League, along said lower line North to the N. E. Corner of sd. Mortons league thence in a line eastwardly to the old Eastern boundary of said precinct.

The Ayuntamiento. agreed that on account of the scarcity of money in this Municipality, which renders the prospect of raising a sufficiency for the purpose of building a Jail very doubtful, cattle at cash price will be taken on loan under the same conditions as was

offered for ready money by the Ayuntamiento. on the 13 of the last past September.

[p. 55] The Ayuntamiento. taking into consideration that the time for holding the municipal elections as required by the 97 article of law No. 37 is fast approaching, and in order to give due notice throughout the whole extent of the Municipality of the time and place of said elections as also the number and description of Municipal officers to be elected ordered that notice be given in the next and following numbers of the Texas Gazette of the said elections and also that sd elections will be held at the following described places for the purpose of electing an Alcalde to serve for the year 1831. Two Regidores and one Sindico procurador for the ayunto. of next year and also for the election of a Commissario and Sindico in each one of the several precincts of the municipality.

- 1st At the town of Austin to be presided by the Alcalde.
At Henry Jones' to be presided by Walter C. White Regid
At Bolivar to be presided by Shubael Marsh Sindico
At Brazoria to be presided by John Austin Comisario
At Jesse H. Cartwrights presided by said Cartwright Regid
At Harrisburg to be presided by Saml. C. Hiram Comiso
At Caleb Wallaces to be presided by Wm. Pettus Sindico po.
At Jno. P. Coles to be presided by said Jno P. Coles
At Wm Bartons to be presided by Mosea Rousseau
At Rawson Alleys to be presided by said Alley
At Rameys gin to be presided by Jno. Huff Comisario
At R. H. Williams to be presided by Vandorn [Vandoin]
Sindico
At James Kerrs to be presided by Said Kerr
At Gonzales to be presided by the comisario of that place

the elections shall be held at the above places in conformity with the before mentioned 97th article of Law No. 37 on Sunday the 12th and Monday the 13th of the month of decemr next, and the returns made agreeably to the provissions thereof—and further the Ayunto. ordered that the notice for the elections shall also describe the names of the different precincts and the number and class of municipal officers to be elected.

The Ayuntamiento. then discussed the subject of regulating the measure in general and customary [p. 56] use among the Colonists for grain etc. the bushel measure for the purpose of having it regulated by some known standard, as at this time the size of such measures is almost as various as the number of them existing in the Municipality. The Ayuntamiento. ordered that inasmuch as there are no standard measures of this state within this municipality, and as almost all grain and other articles that are sold or exchanged that are measured are measured in what are termed bushel measure, that the standard measure for a bushel shall be 2150 $\frac{2}{5}$ cubic inches, or eight gallons dry measure each gallon containing 268 $\frac{4}{5}$ cubic inches.

The day being spent in this session and there being some further business to transact the ayuntamto. adjourned until tomorrow at ten oclock.

Thos. Barnett

Samuel M Williams

Srio. Intno.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Real Colonel House. By Arthur D. Howden Smith. Doran, New York. 1918. 8vo. 306 pp.

The author qualifies this title by a prefatory note in which he says, "This is an intimate biography only in the sense that it reflects my own interpretation of Colonel House based upon an acquaintance and friendship of several years. It is in no sense official for I have not sought access to confidential papers nor have I asked for undue confidence from Colonel House."

In the first seventy pages the author sketches the life of Mr. House to the year 1910, and his chief purpose is to show the dominant influence attained and exercised by Mr. House in Texas politics. The period from 1890 to 1910 was marked by rapid changes and radical tendencies in Texas politics. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the author has confined himself to very general statements.

The greater portion of the book deals with the part played by Mr. House more recently in national politics and the international negotiations of the United States. The campaigns of 1912 and 1916, and the several missions of Mr. House abroad as the representative of the President are described in popular, journalistic style, laudatory in the extreme and supplying the reader little material for a careful judgment.

E. W. W.

Watching and Waiting on the Border. By Roger Batchelder. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 1917. 12mo. 221 pp.

Mr. Batchelder was a private in a machine-gun company, Eighth Massachusetts Regiment, National Guard. He tells of the unexpected calling out of the National Guard in June, 1916, of the inadequacy of equipment and lack of training, of the trip to Camp Cotton near El Paso, and of the life at that place by men unused and unprepared for the heat of that region. After spending four months in camp, the Massachusetts men were sent home. The writer hopes that this narrative will impress the reader with the weaknesses of the National Guard as a system of national defense.

E. W. W.

NEWS ITEMS

The University of California is engaged in negotiating an exchange of professors for 1919-1920 with the University of Madrid. In case it is arranged, Professor Bolton will exchange for Professor Rafael Altamira. A committee of the University of California, of which Professor Chapman is chairman, is negotiating a similar exchange with the Chilean government.

Professor Charles E. Chapman of the University of California and Professor R. G. Cleland of Occidental College, Los Angeles, are writing a general history of California, which they expect to have ready for the press in 1920.

The Association has received as a gift from the Society three volumes of Historical Collections of the Joseph Habersham Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution (Atlanta, Georgia). They contain hitherto unpublished lists of Revolutionary soldiers, lists of emigrants, marriage bonds and records, death notices, family sketches, and general genealogical material.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorials.—The *Dallas News* of February 14, 1919, printed an outline of the plans for the erection of a million dollar memorial auditorium by Dallas city and county. In the *News* of February 23, tentative plans for a memorial hall at Southern Methodist University were set forth. Plans for the Caldwell County Soldier Boys' Memorial Hall, to be built at Lockhart, are contained in the *San Antonio Express* of March 2.

The Texas Legislature has enacted a law making it the duty of the commissioners courts to provide suitable record books, and requiring county clerks to record therein the "official discharge of each soldier, sailor or other person resident in the county who served at home or abroad in the army or navy forces of the United States" in the recent war.

The means of communication between Texas points on the Gulf coast with points in the United States have at all times played an important part in the history of Texas. Almost nothing has been written concerning the developments of traffic through Texas ports. Mr. Ben C. Stuart contributed two articles upon this subject to the *Galveston News*. One published January 12, 1919, deals with several of the steamboat lines active between 1834 and

1880; the other published January 26 gives a sketch of Captain William Scrimgeour, who died January 23, 1919, and of his career during the Civil War.

The *American Historical Review*, January, 1919, contains two letters from Sam Houston, dated "Wigwam Neosho 15th Dec. 1830." The contributor of these letters states that Wigwam Neosho was located "on the west bank of the Neosho, a short distance above its junction with the Arkansas, and nearly opposite Fort Gibson." One of the letters is addressed to Secretary of War Eaton, the other to President Jackson; both recommend Captain Nathaniel Pryor, a soldier of the Battle of New Orleans, for appointment as subagent for the Osages.

Colonel R. T. Milner publishes in the *Rusk County News*, February 15, 1919, an interesting article on "The Old San Antonio and Nacogdoches Road."

A portrait of Judge W. L. Davidson of the Court of Criminal Appeals was presented to the court by the lawyers of Waco and Cameron, on March 19, 1919. The portrait was painted by Miss Anna Lorenz of Cameron.

On February 28, 1919, the State Senate accepted a portrait of Stephen F. Austin, presented to the State by Mr. Guy M. Bryan of Houston. The portrait now hangs in the Senate Chamber; it was painted in New Orleans in 1836.

Texas History Teachers' Bulletin, VII, Number 1 (November, 1918), is devoted to a discussion of war history in the high school. The contents comprises reports from the teachers of history in eight Texas high schools and a bibliography for the study of the war.

The Dallas Art Association, on March 1, 1919, unveiled a memorial tablet to Elizabeth Patterson Kiest, who had served well the Association as treasurer from its organization in 1903 until 1917. The summary of the addresses made on this occasion and printed in the *News* of March 2 give a short account of the work and history of this body.

Under the title "Stories illustrate the many-sided character of General Sam Houston," Mr. E. G. Littlejohn contributes to the *Galveston News* of March 2, 1919, a collection of anecdotes. In

most instances the source whence these anecdotes were taken is given.

"Burleson a leader in Congress and out" is the title of an article in the *Dallas News* of March 2, 1919. It presents a review of the Postmaster General's rise in politics and some of his work in Congress.

Miss Lucy Erath, daughter of the late Major George Bernard Erath, is engaged in the preparation of a biography of her father.

A tribute to the late Mrs. Julia de Zavala by Mrs. Laura V. Grinnan was published in the *Galveston News* of January 7, 1919.

A sketch of the life of Samuel Thompson Foster, a pioneer of Southwest Texas, who died at his home in Laredo, January 8, 1919, was published in the *Galveston News* of January 12.

Dr. Ashley W. Fly, mayor of Galveston from 1893 to 1899, and more recently a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Texas, died January 24, 1919.

Christopher C. Slaughter, cattleman, banker, philanthropist, died at his home in Dallas, January 25, 1919.

Alexander Cockrell of Dallas died February 24, and John Purvis Daggett of Fort Worth died February 25, 1919. Each saw his native city grow from a frontier village to its present urban dimensions.

Bryan Thomas Barry, three times mayor of Dallas, died in that city March 5, 1919. The *News* of the day following presents a sketch of his life, and an editorial tribute was printed a few days later.

Mrs. Belle Sherman Kendall, daughter of General Sidney Sherman, hero of the battle of San Jacinto, died at her home in Houston, March 9, 1919. Mrs. Kendall was one of the founders of the Carnegie Library in Houston and was always active in every movement looking to the betterment of community welfare.

Mrs. Eugenia Barrett, daughter of Adolphus Sterne, died at the home of her grandson, Mr. J. C. Tolman, in Houston, March 5, 1919.

W. Jack Bryan, son of the late Colonel Guy M. Bryan, died at his home in Houston, March 14, 1919.

AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Association was held at the University of Texas, March 3, 1919. Mrs. Adele B. Looscan of Houston was re-elected president, and Messrs. Alex Dienst of Temple, Lewis R. Bryan of Houston, R. C. Crane of Sweetwater, and George W. Littlefield of Austin, vice-presidents. Professor Chas. W. Ramsdell was re-elected corresponding secretary and treasurer, and Mr. E. W. Winkler and Professor S. H. Moore were elected to the executive council—the first for the term ending 1922 and the second for the term ending 1925. The following were elected members of the Association: Corporal Arthur S. Aiton, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.; J. E. Alexander, Berkeley, Cal.; E. P. Arneson, 208 West Seventh Street, Fort Worth, Texas; Professor S. E. Asbury, College Station, Texas; G. L. Brooks, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico; Mrs. J. W. Brosig, Navasota, Texas; Owen C. Coy, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Cal.; Mrs. Grace L. Crockett, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Cal.; Miss Mary Ida Dunkerley, 105 North Clay Street, Ennis, Texas; Mrs. Ida Jolesch, 506 West Knot Street, Ennis, Texas; R. S. Kuykendall, 2503 Regent Street, Berkeley, Cal.; Miss Louise Latimer, 303 North Preston Street, Ennis, Texas; Mrs. W. H. Lucas, 811 North Travis Street, Sherman, Texas; W. H. McGee, Marshall, Texas; Miss Gertrude Menard, Ennis, Texas; Mrs. R. E. Orr, 508 North McKinney Street, Ennis, Texas; Mrs. C. B. Pittman, Ennis, Texas; Mrs. E. W. Raphael Preston, Ennis, Texas; Mrs. Bertha Jean Traylor, Pineland, Texas; Mrs. J. R. Robinson, Ennis, Texas; Miss Floy Perryman, 2810 Chartres Street, Houston, Texas.

The editorial staff of *THE QUARTERLY* was re-elected without change: Professors Eugene C. Barker and Herbert E. Bolton, editors; and Professors Chas. W. Ramsdell, Mr. E. W. Winkler, and Dr. Edgar L. Hewitt, associate editors. The Association received as a gift from Mrs. Looscan a number of documents relating to the history of the flag of Texas. The Treasurer's report, which appears below, was read and accepted.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING FEB-
RUARY 28, 1919

Receipts

	1919	1918
Membership dues	\$ 860 27	\$1,197 65
Sale of QUARTERLY	211 47	148 50
Sale of binding	67 75	00
Interest	566 00	229 41
Life membership	30 00	30 00
Loans paid in	1,335 00	700 00
Donations	25 00	650 00
Miscellaneous	9 00	30 35
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total receipts	\$3,104 49	\$2,985 91

Disbursements

Printing QUARTERLY	\$1,005 37	\$1,063 40
Binding QUARTERLY	29 90	96 30
Clerical expense	288 60	229 40
Postage	94 60	76 67
Stationery	1 30	38 05
Loans made	1,750 00	1,000 00
QUARTERLY reprints ("British Corre- spondence")	311 84	00
Miscellaneous	72 14	24 72
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$3,553 75	\$2,528 54

Balance on hand, February 28, 1918—

In Austin National Bank	\$ 506 24
In American National Bank	205 00

\$ 711 24

Receipts

3,104 49

\$3,815 73

Total disbursements

3,553 75

Balance on hand, February 28, 1919.....\$ 261 98

CHAS. W. RAMSDELL,
Treasurer.

The above is a correct statement of the receipts and disbursements as shown by the books kept by the Treasurer of the Association. The balance agrees with the balances at the Austin National Bank and the American National Bank on March 1, 1919.

H. Y. BENEDICT,
Auditor.

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